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The Editors
AN END TO SALT?

ONE DOLLAR

FEBRUARY 29, 1980



ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR. WHO WAS IN CHARGE?

Thomas Powers's book pro-
vokes a debate about the
CIA & presidential power

EVANGELICAL POLITICS

MICHAEL W. FOLEY

THE JUNTA & THE TRADE UNIONS

WILLIAM B. GOULD



RELIGIOUS BOOKS: CRITICS' CHOICES

ARTHUR J. MOORE

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Correspondence

Jesus & SALT

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: Bishop Gumbleton [Correspondence, Jan. 18] finds that the articles on SALT II [Dec. 7] contain no indication that Gospel has "any bearing on our response to the nuclear arms race." It is not clear whether the bishop objects to non-theological discussions of this issue or whether he finds the content of the articles incompatible with "faith in Jesus's word." If the latter is the case, then I think that he is under some obligation to offer an argument to that effect rather than a dismissive comment. If the former is the case, then I would urge that there is still some value in indicating some of the moral reasons why even those who are not in the Christian tradition should be concerned about controlling the arms race. In a pluralistic society it is both a tactical mistake and an error of principle to attempt to base controversial public policies on purely religious grounds.

(REV.) JOHN LANGAN, S.J.
Woodstock Theological Center

The Revival tent

Rockaway Point, N.Y.

To the Editors: It was nostalgic to read Dolores Elise Brien's article [Dec. 21]. I was one of the young seminarians who painted Monica House, who got into apostolic activities, who read many of the books referred to and who was deeply committed to the Catholic Action groups mentioned by her.

In retrospect, comparatively few clergy and religious, not alone lay people, were reading the revival books. And the ecclesiastical structure was even less interested in those Catholic Action

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"revolutionaries." It's too bad that she omitted Canon Cardijn of Belgium, the founder of the Young Christian Workers, as one of the activists. I say this because many of the French names she quoted were influenced by him and translated into theological language what he, the practitioner, was doing.

I can relate similarly to what was ambivalent for her. It seems to me that what we were doing was within the structure and under the aegis of the institution. We didn't know anything else at the time. However, the ideas of the revival and deeds of the activists were stretching us. We were being prepared for other cultures, newer horizons and the universe which God had already touched.

From my vantage point now, being somewhat outside the structure and at a distance from the institution, the atmosphere is freer, the opportunities endless. I'm where people are at and whether they are in the church (many are not), on the periphery or outside it doesn't really matter at the moment. What matters is that they are growing as persons, as families and as community people and spreading His Kingdom and its Gospel values.

There is a revival taking place in thinking, in activity, but not in the institutional tent. The institutional tent, it seems to me, is still a ghetto, still needs to be revisited.

(REV.) EDWARD P. HOGAN

An indelible mark

Yuba City, Calif.

To the Editors: Dolores E. Brien's "The Catholic Revival Revisited" [Dec. 21] struck home! In 1947 I graduated from a Catholic university still wondering what it meant to be a Catholic in the real world. I expected that somehow the Catholic university should have left some kind of noticeable mark upon me to distinguish me from others. In looking about for answers I traveled some of the roads described by D. E. Brien. I met people active with the Young Christian Workers and with *Integrity* magazine. I read *Seven Storey Mountain* and discovered Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker, the Baroness de Hueck and Friendship House and I heard Frank Sheed address

small groups on Sunday evenings at Columbia University. Then it was back to the Catholic U. for several courses not required when I was an undergraduate. That course of study colored my reading habits for the next ten years.

I grew up with the Baltimore Catechism and learned in the 1940s to scratch the surface for better understanding. (I'm still scratching.) There was something exciting and special about being a Catholic and a lifetime of commitment was confirmed. Born again in the '40s! Others I knew at that time went directly from college to work with the Y.C.W. or with Friendship House—all with the same enthusiasm expressed by Brien. Church was a moving force in our lives and "Catholicism was (indeed) a total way of life." Even for those of us who had to find our way in the "mainstream" the dedication was no less enthusiastic. We believed that we were the leaven and that conviction was not easily shaken. The quest for perfection—sainthood—was a real goal.

I never suspected that I was living through a Catholic Revival. In innocence I believed that I had finally stumbled into something that was always there and would always be there and that the supply of intellectuals to lead and guide would be an endless flow coming out of Catholic culture. The mark left by those other times is indelible and, difficult as those ideas are to sustain, they are even more difficult to shed. Perhaps it was the strength built in those years that fortified some of us for the years following Vatican II. By all means, do revive the revival.

AGATHA ROSS FIERRO

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Contents

Volume CVII, Number 4

Correspondence 98

Editorials 99

Waste not, want not: *William V. Thomas* 101

Another U.S. triumph: *Frank Getlein* 102

Evangelical politics: *Michael W. Foley* 104

Who was in charge?: *Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* 108

The Junta and the trade unions:
William B. Gould 111

Dance: *Don McDonagh* 116

Screen: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* 117

Books

Religious Book Week Choices:

Arthur J. Moore, Arlene Swidler, Marie Augusta Neal, Robert McAfee Brown, Colman McCarthy 119

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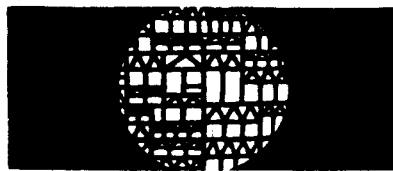
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AN END OF SALT?

WITH THOUSANDS of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, this might at first seem like a strange time to talk about SALT II. It is not. Given the fact that a U.S.-Soviet confrontation becomes more likely every day, SALT is more necessary than ever.

Support for the SALT process should not be confused with any notion that the Soviets are basically good guys who are simply misunderstood by the world community. Indeed, if the Russians were the fellows in the white hats, SALT would be unnecessary. We don't need a SALT treaty with Great Britain. It is precisely the ever-present danger of nuclear confrontation between the two superpowers that makes SALT essential. As chief U.S. negotiator for SALT II Paul Warnke pointed out in the *Washington Post*, we should be disappointed by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan but not particularly surprised. In his words, "Soviet incursions into neighboring states have had the periodicity of twelve-year locusts—Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and now Afghanistan." But this should make efforts to prevent an out-of-control nuclear arms race more of a United States goal than ever.

Détente has suffered a serious blow, there's no doubt about that, but SALT should not be confused with détente. International tensions are high right now, but as Mr. Warnke pointed out, SALT negotiations were carried out after the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and while Soviet-supplied weapons were killing American soldiers in Vietnam. The action of the USSR in Afghanistan suggests strongly that we are in for a period of increasing tension, which without arms control suggests an ever greater danger of nuclear war.

"But how can we trust the Russians?" people say. We cannot. But the point of SALT II is that it is not based on trust of the Russians. National security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski put it this way after the Soviet move into Afghanistan: "SALT is not a favor to the Soviet Union. SALT is not a Soviet favor to the United States. SALT is a strategic accommodation in the most dynamic aspect of the relationship. If that relationship was even worse than it is today, we would need SALT even more then, because SALT introduces strategic stability . . . whether there are Soviet troops in Kabul or whether Soviet troops are marching back to Tashkent." Indeed, in many ways SALT restrictions would bear more heavily on the Soviet Union than on the United States. SALT II would limit the USSR to testing and deploying only one new type of missile and a maximum of ten warheads on missiles capable of carrying thirty. Thus without SALT the Soviet Union could add the extra warheads to its missiles that would at least theoretically allow it to kill our land-based missiles. A new National Intelligence Estimate is said to predict that without SALT Soviet rockets in 1989 will be able to rain nearly 250 percent more atomic warheads on the U.S. than they would if restrained by SALT. The Estimate indicates that by that date

29 February 1980: 99

the USSR could have 14,000 highly accurate warheads mounted on their land-based missiles aimed at the United States. Under present plans the U.S. would have only a fraction of this amount. With a SALT treaty Russia would have about 6,000 rather than 14,000. Does that make any difference? It does. Under SALT, Soviet warheads could take out only half of our proposed MX silos, leaving half—enough to deter a Soviet attack in the first place. Without SALT, the U.S. silos could be smothered, thus taking away their deterrence power. As for cheating under SALT, the Russians might be tempted, but SALT provides means of checking for compliance. Without SALT there is no checking for anything.

President Carter is probably right in thinking that ratification for SALT II is out of the question right now, given the present climate. The two-thirds vote needed in the Senate simply is not there. Nonetheless, SALT should not be killed; it should be kept very much alive. Wisely, the State Department has announced that the U.S. will continue to abide by the terms of SALT I and SALT II pending ratification, provided the Russians do the same. The U.S. should make every effort to encourage the Soviet Union in that direction. Meantime, we should avoid nuclear bluster; distressingly, it has already been suggested that the United States is ready to use tactical nuclear weapons in the Persian Gulf area. The United States and the Soviet Union are certainly not friends, but we do have one thing in common: a desire for survival that is threatened by nuclear holocaust. As Pope John Paul II said recently, "Only two hundred of the fifty thousand nuclear bombs that are estimated to exist already would be enough to destroy the major part of the largest cities in the world." Unless we are to see our world in ruins around us, the nuclear arms control process must continue. The right criticism of SALT II is not that it goes too far but that it does not go far enough.

THE STING

It is said that the ABSCAM sting operation has cast a shadow on the integrity of Congress, one unneeded after the scandals of recent years, and this is true enough. The leaders of the House and Senate would be wise to move forcefully in removing suspicion. But ABSCAM casts even more of a cloud over the FBI and its mode of operation.

Do we want the FBI spending a million dollars of tax money to tempt public officials into wrongdoing? Entrapment may be difficult to define in a strict legal sense, but to the ordinary citizen this case certainly looks like nothing else. Indeed, the whole procedure has a bad smell. From all accounts, the FBI started not with a genuine crime but with a fishing expedition, completely out of the blue. Do we really want to encourage such a procedure? Then there is the question of the targets. How were they chosen? Why these targets and not others in Congress? Did politics enter into the choice of targets? Why stop with the handful implicated in the news stories—why not go on and tempt every Congressman and Senator? What about public officials in the executive branch?

Most troubling of all, though, was the way the news of the

investigation was provided to the media. No one, remember, has been indicted for any offense, let alone convicted. Yet various accusations complete with lurid details have been supplied to the press and spread all over the front pages. Television cameras were waiting outside the house of Senator Harrison Williams hours before the FBI arrived to inform him officially that he was the target of a probe. In the case of public officials who must stand for reelection, the procedure of calculated leaks is particularly unfair. How can the slow process of legal justice possibly catch up with the publicity?

Attorney General Civiletti says that he is moving to investigate the sources of the obviously well scheduled leaks and that he will punish the offenders severely. He should indeed do so, and quickly. Meanwhile the rest of us should be thinking about the role of the FBI in this nation's political life. We do not want to sound paranoid, but perhaps it is necessary to tell the FBI in a forceful way that this is 1980, not 1984.

RIGHTS OF RELIGION

One year ago *Commonweal* raised an alarm about *McRae v. Califano*. Originally that court case challenged the Hyde amendment's ban on Medicaid funding for abortion on grounds of unequal treatment for poor women. That did not provoke our alarm. Despite our opposition to abortion and our sympathy with the notion that federal funding remains one of the concrete places where one can confront the growing social legitimization of abortion, the Hyde amendment does raise complicated questions of equal treatment. The plaintiffs in that suit—primarily the ACLU and Planned Parenthood, joined by the Women's Division of the Methodist Board of Global Ministries—went beyond equal treatment arguments to challenge the Hyde amendment on First Amendment grounds. Pointing to the clear religious motivation and church involvement in both the anti-abortion movement and the legislative debate leading to the Hyde amendment, the plaintiffs declared the amendment an unconstitutional establishment of religion. Such a novel theory, in our eyes, threatened not only organized Catholic participation in the political process but all religiously informed and supported efforts on behalf of general political objectives, whether right-to-life, civil rights, the abolition of capital punishment, or the support of Israel.

After a long delay, the U.S. District court in Brooklyn has decided *McRae v. Califano*. The decision finds the Hyde amendment unconstitutional, *largely on equal treatment grounds*. Since the immediate objective, restoring Medicaid funds for abortion, was attained, the plaintiffs, as well as the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and other custodians of liberal rightthink on the subject of abortion, hailed the decision as "eloquent," "landmark," etc. Nary a word was said about the establishment question they had earlier made much of.

In fact, Judge John F. Dooling was firm: "The argument from the establishment clause must be rejected." Even if the enactments under challenge reflected one religious view, he wrote, that "would not be decisive." In any case, he reminded his readers, the Hyde Amendment reflected a view represented

"in most state statutes of a generation ago"; it did not become a narrowly religious view "because, after 1973, the most vigorous spokesmen for it put their case in religious terms, and grounded them in religious reasons." Rejecting the arguments that the Hyde Amendment advanced some religions and inhibited others or involved excessive entanglement between church and state, the judge added:

Apart from that, it is clear that the healthy working of our political order cannot safely forego the political action of the churches, or discourage it. The reliance, as always, must be on giving an alert and critical hearing to every informed voice, and the spokesmen of religious institutions must not be discouraged, nor inhibited by the fear that their support of legislation, or explicit lobbying for such legislation, will result in its being constitutionally suspect.

In a passage which Hyde amendment opponents did cite, the court indicated a serious First Amendment question insofar as the congressional measure limited "religiously formed conscience," i.e., the decision of a woman whose religious faith recognized moral justifications for abortion. This referred to the "free exercise" clause of the First Amendment rather than the "establishment" clause; and from the judge's brief argument it is not clear whether he meant this point to stand alone or only to reinforce his general equal treatment (Fifth Amendment) argument. Like many other aspects of his decision requiring further analysis, the principle enunciated here appears infinitely expandable: virtually all decisions can be shown to be somehow "religiously informed"—are they therefore covered by the First Amendment's protection of "free exercise of religion"? The Supreme Court is yet to be heard from. For the moment we note that the value of "the political action of the churches" and of religiously motivated individuals has been vindicated.

LENT'S NEWS

Igor Stravinsky once remarked that electronic media so dull the senses, our inner senses, that report of the death of millions affects us about as much as the death of our pet canary. All the more reason, then, to remark the opportunity of Lent. Just as spirit-time is rarely sensational (in the double meaning of that word), except when a Mother Teresa wins a Nobel Prize, so the transactions of soul and spirit are rarely recorded. This can mislead us into imagining such transactions do not happen, or that they are confined and lost in strictly private dramas. We are grateful, then, for the rememberings and connections invoked inside our skins by the Lenten liturgies. For they give depth in startling ways to those front-page matters we'd often prefer to forget or take in a strictly self-interested way.

The assumption behind the Lenten liturgies is that our hearts have hardened, our wits dulled, against the assault of headlines like "Hiring for Education Board Bypasses Qualifications," or "War-Ravaged Timor Struggles Back from Abyss." The egocentric Cyclopan eye is riveted rather to those leads which threaten havoc for our budget, like "Saudi Oil Raised 8%."

Lenten liturgies have a way of reminding us of what we'd often rather forget, "the alien" within ourselves, and our complicity with the passion-stories of "the others." The Scripture we hear and the gestures we participate in claim for us an identity founded on remembering ourselves or our ancestors when we or they were homeless refugees, strangers upon the land, poor and vulnerable.

This, rather is the fasting that I wish, releasing those bound unjustly, untying the thongs of the yoke;
Setting free the oppressed, breaking every yoke;
Sharing your bread with the hungry, sheltering the oppressed and the homeless;
Clothing the naked when you see them, and not turning your back on your own.

Then your light shall break forth. (Isa. 58:7-8)

Participation in the Lenten rituals may move us to experience the real presence of that God who compassionately remembers this dismembered world and would love all its fragments back to wholeness and health. When such a presence resonates within us, however, it is like discovering our own heart's desire, the great conjunction wherein Timor's distant struggle "back from abyss," or the anger of those "bypassed" and forgotten, becomes our own. The purpose of Lent is thus to let God's time intersect with earth-time, or as the Ash Wednesday liturgy puts it, "that in him we might become the very holiness of God."

That's the Lenten news, in empty spaces, between the lines.

Nuclear energy

WASTE NOT, WANT NOT BUYING BACK BY-PRODUCTS

THE LAW OF PHYSICS that every action creates an opposite reaction may have haunting new implications for atomic technology in the United States. An inevitable byproduct of nuclear energy is nuclear waste. And as the use of atomic power around the world increases—often with the help of American-supplied fuel—more and more used nuclear material is finding its way back to this country.

Despite the federal government's failure to establish a means for safely disposing of waste already in the United States, every year it imports thousands of pounds of spent fuel from abroad. The reason for this, according to a State Department official, is that most of the foreign nations that buy fuel from America "cannot handle it themselves once it's been burned." Until now, the program has been relatively modest. But if it is expanded, as the Carter administration is considering, this country could become permanent caretaker for all of the atomic waste produced by its customers overseas. The rationale is that reducing waste accumulation in other countries will reduce their interest in reprocessing, which can lead to nuclear weapons production. Although the plan does have a certain moral appeal, it seems to overlook the fact that a

rationale is that reducing waste accumulation in other countries will reduce their interest in reprocessing, which can lead to nuclear weapons production. Although the plan does have a certain moral appeal, it seems to overlook the fact that a reliable method of storing the material has yet to be found.

Recently that conclusion was drawn in a report by the White House's own Office of Science and Technology that challenged the feasibility of the government's entire waste management program. "The knowledge and technology base available today," the study concluded, "is not . . . sufficient to permit complete confidence in the safety of any . . . (U.S.) repository or the suitability of any (storage) site."

Under present agreements with Canada, Sweden, Japan, Belgium, and South Africa, spent nuclear research fuel is returned to the United States for storage and reprocessing into plutonium. Monthly shipments arrive in Norfolk, Baltimore and other eastern ports by commercial vessels and are transported to the federal nuclear establishment at Savannah River, S.C.

With suitable post-Harrisburg gravity, officials stress the safety precautions taken during shipping. However, despite such assurances, many of the localities through which the shipments travel before reaching the Savannah River plant are unaware of what the cargoes contain and are ill-equipped to handle an emergency should one occur.

When it began in 1954, the U.S. nuclear supply program was designed to give "friendly" nations the help they needed to develop atomic power. Yet from the time it went into the uranium sales business, the United States has been painting itself into a corner. The more fuel it exported, the more waste it

helped to create.

So far, only research fuel is being returned—the total amount brought back in 1978 yielded over 1,300 pounds of enriched uranium. But the administration appears determined to broaden American involvement in waste collection. Negotiations are now under way with India to persuade that country to abide by safeguard provisions of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Also being discussed is the return of large amounts of spent reactor fuel that the Indians are believed to be diverting to military use. Reactor fuel contains far more plutonium than research fuel, and currently the Indians hold some 200 tons.

Certainly, the present limited buy-back operation has one worthy goal—to discourage the production of weapons-grade uranium. The way the supply system works, though, does nothing to prevent the stockpiling of necessary ingredients by any government interested in building a nuclear arsenal.

In spite of India's longstanding refusal to accept sanctions on weapons development, the United States until recently has never threatened to cancel its fuel arrangement for fear the Indians, who tested their first atomic bomb in 1974, will do their shopping elsewhere. Instead the U.S. tries to curtail waste accumulation abroad.

If current plans are followed, the U.S. role as a waste repository could be enlarged far beyond its present scope. That would be a high price to pay in order to keep the "free" world safe for nuclear power, but the Carter administration seems willing to pay it.

WILLIAM V. THOMAS

(William V. Thomas writes for Congressional Quarterly in Washington.)

Of several minds: *Frank Getlein*

ANOTHER U.S. TRIUMPH

OR, I LOVE YOU A BARREL AND OPEC

THERE ARE some people you just can't please no matter what you do and I'm sorry to say that right now the American people seem to be outstanding examples. The matter at issue is OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries which spends most of its organizational time jacking up its petroleum prices one more notch in the rack.

For doing this, OPEC has been denounced by the American president as the chief if not the sole cause of the inflation now spreading pain and misery

among the Americans. This lay-off of the blame for inflation on OPEC is thus evenly bipartisan and perhaps for that reason has been accepted pretty much by most of his fellow-citizens.

The exceptions are, in general, two. The first and most noticeable is that group of conservative Republicans and Democrats who prefer to blame the inflation on government spending. By this term they mean all government spending that is not spent on weapons, troops, the subsidization of big agriculture and of big industry, especially the arms indus-

try. In fact that kind of government spending is hardly regarded by such conservatives as government spending at all: it's really an investment in the future, because we won't have a future if we don't spend ourselves silly on arms in the present, and the future will hardly be worth having unless most of it belongs to Big Ag and Big Biz. When it comes to giving an unemployed single mother food stamps for her children, however, that's government spending and that's what has caused the inflation.

The other exception is a much smaller group, a much less heard group and a group, as it happens, that includes myself. We believe the inflation was caused in the first instance indeed by government spending, but it was government spending to finance the Indochinese wars undertaken in the bookkeeping style of the company comptroller who finances his second career at the fifty-dollar window by juggling the books. OPEC obvi-

ously hasn't helped, but the conditions for the inflationary rocket ride were established to begin with by the financial rathole of military spending for the war. Since then, military spending has been aimed at making up to the Joint Chiefs and the merchants of death what we failed to spend on other arms while we were following their financial instructions in Indochina.

The seizure of the embassy staff in Iran has been made the occasion for what seems to be a universal American consensus, led by the president, that we must spend even more for arms than he had already pledged to spend—in violation of his campaign pledge to reduce arms spending. No one has explained very closely exactly which arms it is that would have prevented such a seizure or, following it, have forced the would-be extortioners to let our people go unharmed.

Similarly, the Russian invasion of Afghanistan brought another soldiers' chorus demanding even higher arms spending. Again, no one wasted time explaining how such spending might have prevented the Soviet attack or what such new spending might accomplish that could not be accomplished by the enormous arms stockpile we already have. In view of the simultaneously expressed determination on all sides not to join the war in Afghanistan ourselves, it does seem that the proposed new arms spending is purely symbolic. Like the commander of the besieged city who pours from the parapet his last pitcher of water to convince the besiegers he will never surrender, so the president, I guess, proposes to impress the Russians by pouring his nonexistent money into the desert sands of arms spending. One can but wish him luck, even while noting that nothing will feed the inflationary fires faster than such non-productive spending on ritual objects.

All of this, as plain as the jump in prices at your local supermarket, is ignored by one and all, starting at the top, as having any connection at all with the inflation. No, the inflation is the invention, the engine and the deadly gift to us of the OPEC.

This response is distressing not merely

because it ignores the true cause of inflation and thus helps insure its flourishing continuance, but still more because it ignores the brilliant victory for American policy that OPEC and its steady tightening of the screws really represents. It is astonishing to me that neither Henry Kissinger nor Richard Nixon took credit for this in their respective accounts of how terrific they were in office. OPEC is not an attack on America, it is an embodiment of America. To create OPEC—although we didn't know its name at the time—was precisely what Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles, Dean Rusk, Henry Kissinger and their associates as global thinkers all had in mind in their varied travels, alliances, top level conferences, treaties, wars, incursions, bombings, defoliations, Vietnamizations and other triumphs. More fundamental, it was what Henry R. Luce had in mind—again, somewhat vaguely,—when he invented and copyrighted *The American Century*.

It is true that *The American Century* seems to have come to an end in the minds and hearts of the Americans themselves after a remarkably short run—less than 35 years—as centuries go. But that should not obscure the triumphs of that bi-partisan foreign policy and of those triumphs OPEC is one of the finest, deserving to rank with the two previous and continuing stellar performances, those of West Germany and Japan.

Perhaps even ahead of both for the simple reason that the elements of Americanization were already present in pre-free Germany and Japan, whereas for the Middle Eastern members of OPEC at least, the idea of an economy centered on either following the sheep and goats in their annual migrations, making glorious rugs on hand looms, and taking money from foreign oil companies to give an air of legitimacy to whatever it was the foreign oil companies were doing with their funny towers unfit even to call a prayer from.

From that primitive grasp of economics, the Arab and non-Arab states of the Middle East have leapt over all the intervening stages of the development of capitalism—no spinning jenny, no power loom, no Watt's tea kettle, no

Whitney's rifles or cotton gins, not even a Gutenberg Koran, let alone a Henry Ford assembly line, no period of cutthroat competition among the players—to land spang in the middle of monopoly/trust-cartel capitalism with administered prices bearing no relationship to the fluctuations of supply and demand, only to the bottom line desires of the administrators.

That's quite a performance, comparable in its way to a village money lender in Thailand getting made a top executive officer at Chase Manhattan in half a year just by taking thought. It's almost enough to shake your faith in the worthiness of the captains of corporate capitalism for those huge salaries, stock options, bonuses and perks they are said to "earn" by being so uniquely qualified to make so much profit for their corporations. Uniquely qualified? How come a crowd of erstwhile rug merchants and goat chasers can pick up the qualifications overnight? And, on balance, or balance sheet, do better at it than such uniquely qualified wizards as the present Henry Ford and his former captain-general, Lee Iacocca?

The most important point, however, is that just as we turned West Germany and Japan into bastions of the free world and throbbing economic engines quite capable of overwhelming their creators, so we have done the same with the OPEC members of the Middle East division. The existence of OPEC is a triumph for United States foreign policy from Acheson to Kissinger. This is what we wanted and this is what we got. We have Americanized the Arab and Persian oil producers and Americanization was our goal.

True, for that splinter group mentioned above, doubts linger: Could Germany and Japan have made it so handily, for instance, had we not insisted that they needed the military protection we insisted on providing at bargain rates? Suppose they had had to pay for that themselves, worse, to pay us? The thought is unworthy. Our three triumphs may indeed destroy us economically but at least our idea will live in their triumphs. What more can we ask?

FRANK GETLEIN



PREACHING, PIETY, & RADICAL REFORM

Evangelical politics

MICHAEL W. FOLEY

EVANGELICAL RELIGION, long a bastion of right-wing politics, has a new face today. Or rather, several new faces. Where the politics of conservative Christianity has until recently ranged from the frantic anti-Communism of a Carl McIntyre to the complacent and conservative Americanism cloaked in piety that has served so many Southern politicians, today's political spectrum includes a "born again" president whose piety seems to some as peripheral to his policy as was Richard Nixon's, liberal critics like Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon, and a growing circle of "radical evangelicals" who have borrowed both tactics and a good many issues from the New Left of the sixties.

Jimmy Carter may not stand as a paradigm of the new evangelical politics, but he represents a shift that is widespread among conservative Christians. A Southern politician wedded to the Trilateral Commission rather than Dixie, his Americanism is as comfortably secular as that of any of his predecessors. He does not thump his Bible in the folksy or thunderous style of Bible Belt politicians of old; he goes to prayer breakfasts as did Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford before him. He represents, in fact, a new sophistication about power and a move on the part of conservative Christians toward the cultural and political center of American life.

Both the sophistication and the shift to the cultural center can be seen even in the right wing. Though demagogues like Jerry Falwell and John Briggs are still with us, the new evangelical right is as groomed for the public as "Good Morning, America" and as politically wily as its public relations mentor, Richard Viguerie. Christian Voice, newly formed lobbying arm of American Christian Cause, is a good exam-

ple. Christian Voice has taken up anew the defense of that special blend of fundamentalist moralism and right-wing causes that has characterized Christian conservatism for decades. But it has done so with more capital and more sophistication than was ever evident in the "Christian Anti-Communist Crusades" of the fifties. A growing network of interdenominational contacts—an evangelical ecumenism that serves both liberal and conservative tendencies—provides the broad base of support for the organization, whose Congressional Advisory Committee includes four U.S. senators and eleven congressmen.

But direct mail advertising and a vigorous use of the new Christian broadcasting outlets make up the chief outreach for an organization devoted to fighting such evils as the banning of prayer in public schools, abortion on demand, the teaching of evolution and "secular humanism" in school and through the media, and the "betrayal" of "Christian allies in Taiwan and Rhodesia." Like the vast majority of evangelical spokespeople of the recent past, Christian Voice roundly condemns "a National Council of Churches which speaks for 'all' Christians in the halls of our Congress, calls for public sex education of the young, and advocates national redistribution of wealth (à la Karl Marx)." "These are not political issues," so we are told in a flyer that claims the authority of conservative Senators Orrin Hatch and Roger Jepsen among others, not matters of "liberal vs. conservative, or Democrat vs. Republican. . . . These are moral issues—good vs. evil, Christ vs. anti-Christ." The doctrine of the separation of church and state, politics and religion must hold even under the hefty guns of right-wing moral outrage!

Christian Voice is a new organization; it does not monopolize the Christian right, and it was not without significant predecessors. In 1976 *Sojourners* magazine, then just gaining national recognition as a voice for an unexpected side of the evangelical conscience, exposed a nationwide conservative Christian "Plan to Save America." A number of right-wing Christian groups, including the Third Century Foundation and the Christian Freedom Foundation were consolidating around the political leadership of then-senator from Arizona

MICHAEL W. FOLEY is a correspondent for *Sojourners* magazine. He has also contributed to *Politics Today*, *America* and the *Co-Evolution Quarterly* in between cooking, carpentry, and caring for six children, four his own, on a Catholic Worker farm in the foothills of the Sierras.

John Conlan, a clever politician with presidential hopes. Bill Bright, founder of Young Life, had opened his lavish "Christian Embassy" in Washington, and Bright, Conlan, and others were raising funds for a national campaign of evangelization, first visible in the "I've Found It" media blitz. That campaign was intended to culminate in the development of evangelically motivated political cadres nationwide, who would propel Conlan and other like-minded Christians into public office. While Bright's *Here's Life, America* (the "I've Found It" campaign) was not explicitly political, Bright's vision of the conversion of America included getting "good Christian men and women" into office who would turn the nation around by putting it on "a sound military and economic basis." *Sojourners*'s exposé was carried by the national press, made front page headlines in Conlan's home state and contributed substantially to the collapse of the Plan. Conlan lost a re-election campaign in Arizona, and Bill Bright's Embassy quietly closed down. Both men bitterly denounce the *Sojourners* editors to this day.

Conservative Christian politics is alive and kicking today, however, not only in Christian Voice, but in the remarkable growth of the Christian broadcasting phenomenon as well. Shouting evangelists like Jerry Falwell and homespun preachers like Oral Roberts have used the media for decades, often with explicitly political messages. But recently conservative Christians have begun plunging money into the creation of alternative networks of Christian-owned and -operated radio and TV stations and production and marketing outfits. Pat Robertson's "700 Club," centerpiece of his Christian Broadcasting Network, reaches 5 million viewers. "The PTL television network claims to be "the most viewed daily television program in the world."

Robertson is an intelligent, soft-spoken conservative with enough charm and business sense to have built a television empire over the last twenty years. His "700 Club" is carried by 200 TV and 150 radio stations and beamed by satellite to 23 countries. He runs a graduate school of communications with an evangelical bent and spends \$50 million a year on CBN and his headquarters station WYAH in Portsmouth, Virginia. His politics, which dictate the programming and pervade *Pat Robertson's Newsletter*, are the usual conservative amalgam: a tough military and foreign policy, including recognition of Rhodesia and stepped-up arms sales to anti-Communist governments; support for nuclear power; opposition to the ERA, national health insurance, and gay rights legislation. The quirks of Christian conservatism are much in evidence: Robertson vaguely expects the "end times" around the corner, supports Israel and opposes a Palestinian state on "biblical" grounds, feels deficit spending and credit buying undermine the Puritan work ethic, which he sees as the source of America's "moral fiber." He is no demagogue. A smooth talker, he keeps his talk show moving, from personal testimony to political discussion to gospel music with a twist of Lawrence Welk. Robertson gives his viewers a big dose of what Jeremy Rifkin and Ted Howard see as "an alternative Christian culture." Others might judge it a culturally captive Christianity.

MEDIA-WISE or not, the right-wing politics of conservative Christianity has always been an odd amalgam, especially in light of evangelical history. "Conservative Christianity" is itself a mixed lot, comprising evangelical descendants of the great revivals among such mainline denominations as Methodists, Presbyterians, and United Church of Christ, distinctly revival-based churches like the various community churches and bible churches and "interdenominational fellowships" that dot the landscape, holiness and pentecostal traditions, and conservative Lutherans and Baptists like the Missouri Synod Lutherans and the Southern Baptists. But aside from the Lutherans, most of these groups have ties to a more radical past. Baptist separatism became the doctrine of the separation of church and state in American polity. Wesleyanism spawned the abolition movement in England, and the holiness churches grew out of a series of breaks with the compromises of nineteenth-century Methodism. Charles Finney's "new measure" evangelism was closely allied to both abolitionism and the early women's movement. Indeed, in a passage carefully excised by modern editors of his works, Finney argues that "One of the most serious impediments that have been thrown in the way of revivals of religion and one that no doubt deeply grieves the Spirit of God" is the church's neglect "of its own appropriate work," namely, "the reformation of mankind." Finney envisaged that work in concrete political terms, the creation of the kingdom on earth. And many of the ambiguities of both liberal reformist and evangelical politics then and now spring from that vision, which included temperance legislation and women's suffrage, abolitionism and the rehabilitation of prisoners, social work and evangelization among the poor.

The alliance thus forged between piety and reformism was so strong that Eugene V. Debs could declare in the 1890s that "the best socialist is a Holiness man." And pentecostal, holiness and evangelical circuit riders became circuit lecturers for the Farmer's Alliances on the eve of America's first and greatest populist revolt. The identification of holiness and pentecostal groups with the poor was close. But the destruction of populism in the 1890s and the crushing of American socialism in 1918 and '19 broke the social hopes of evangelical Christianity. As Lawrence Godwin argues in his persuasive re-evaluation of populism, with these events the hard-won collective vision of the rural and working-class poor was shattered, to be replaced by the mute opposition to "big government," "big business," and eventually "big labor" of the "silent majority" and by an indigenous American anarchism in its individualist and capitalist forms. The oppositionist stance of abolitionist and populist was transmuted in the churches into an abstract repudiation of "modernism" and a pietistic moralism. The "reformation of mankind" would become the province of the heathen and the heretic.

But evangelical church historian Donald Dayton also points to a sociological rhythm evident in the evolution of conservative Christianity. The first evangelicals were at the margins of their society. Repudiated by the respectable, theologically suspect, economically poor-to-middling (with a few excep-

tions), politically radical, they stood outside the mainstream and launched their crusades on unfamiliar waters. But as Dayton remarks, "Marginality, both cultural and economic, has produced its opposite in successive generations—the push toward 'respectability,' a strong desire to be close to the centers of power, and a longing to enjoy the 'good life.'"

This process was already at work among older evangelical denominations in the last half of the nineteenth century. In the frustrations and the flurry of the post-Civil War period the millennial hopes of the abolitionists were exchanged for a more bourgeois vision. Billy Sunday, financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., S.S. Kresge, and John M. Studebaker, preached a gospel of complacency to the rich and conformity to the poor. Sunday was perhaps not the first evangelist to identify his faith with "100 percent Americanism," but he was certainly the most influential. It is not far from here to the claim of Billy James Hargis that "Christ is the heart of the Conservative cause. We conservatives are fighting for God and Country." Out of this odd alliance of fundamentalism and pietistic morality, political despair and the quest for a place in the mainstream, anarchism and a reverence for the gods of success was born contemporary American conservatism, in all its contradictions.

TODAY AN UNEXPECTED renaissance of nineteenth-century evangelical social concern has captured a growing segment of conservative Christianity. Most radical of the new evangelicals are those nourished on the promises of a social conscience launched by *Christianity Today* at the close of the fifties and bitterly disappointed by the politics of the Vietnam war. The center for a new alliance of evangelical social concern, traditional Anabaptist themes, and Catholic and mainline radicalism is *Sojourners* magazine. Founded in the late sixties as *The Post-American* by a group of evangelicals kicked out of their conservative seminaries and Bible colleges for anti-Vietnam war activities, both the journal and the fellowship that supports it have matured into an incisively critical counterpoint to the dominant ethos of evangelical religion. Co-Editor Jim Wallis sees the first ministry of the group to the church, "to the renewal of our first love, of her life and her worship."

The *Sojourners* Fellowship's worship-style is charismatic, and several charismatic communities, including Franciscan Father Richard Rohr's "New Jerusalem Community" in Cincinnati, are part of *Sojourners*'s "circle of communities." But the communal life-style promoted by these new evangelicals is more reminiscent of the Catholic Worker than of the middle-class charismatic communities that sprang up in the seventies. And, despite the stated emphasis on the renewal of the church, the magazine focuses on political issues. It regularly features exposés of torture and repression in Latin America, the Philippines and Korea, and its editorial policy includes a militant rejection of nuclear armament and a positive commitment to "biblical" feminism. "From the beginning," says Wallis, "we have found our lives and our ministry shaped at the juncture of politics and religion."

Other groups and journals also reflect a growing crystaliza-

tion of what some would call the evangelical left, though parties to the new attitudes generally reject the term. *The Other Side*, originally devoted to taking up the race question among evangelicals, shares *Sojourners*'s commitment to resisting the arms race and to developing a life-style in response to world hunger. The magazine has also tackled the question of biblical "inerrancy" and has rejected as divisive the position of Harold Lindsell and others engaged in their "battle for the Bible." *Radix* (formerly *Right On!*) is a product of the Berkeley People's Christian Coalition with feminist Sharon Gallagher as chief editor. Concerned with cultural issues as well as politics, the magazine has a more apocalyptic and fundamentalist slant than others on the "left." And perhaps most radical among conservative Christians are the black pentecostal theologians at Mason Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia, who have been adapting liberation theology to the black experience in America.

But Finney's hope for the kingdom come on American soil is not the vision that compels the new evangelical social conscience. All of the groups mentioned claim biblical sanction for their position; none of them wishes to see itself as a Christian rapprochement with liberalism or socialism; none of them feels any special affinity for so mainline a group as Christians for Socialism. Chastened by decades of evangelical identification with national chauvinism, influenced by Anabaptist separatism and Barthian crisis theology à la Jacques Ellul, radical evangelicals and pentecostals maintain a critical stance towards political programs and panaceas. At worst, Finney's millennialism has been converted into a crabbed apocalypticism. At its best, the new evangelical social conscience is as open to constructive social change as it is critical of American civil religion, as self-critical as it is devoted to prophecy in the public midst. "When the right outline their program," says Wallis, "then I become the conservative. I stand on the gospel. I ask 'What does all this have to do with belonging to Christ?' and 'How is it that the virtue of compassion has been systematically excluded from the thinking of a whole generation of Christians?'"

Wes Michaelson, another *Sojourners* editor, adds that it is not a matter of the gospel "transcending politics," as if the



gospel "had no historical specificity." "It is simply that there are so few viable alternatives in American politics. The gospel offers a radical reversal of dominant attitudes toward wealth and power. And the kingdom is not going to be realized in any political system. The gospel, and the church, is thus driven toward a very critical stance toward our government and society." But again, that stance is not without positive political consequences. *Sojourners* has organized a nationwide lobby for the Hatfield moratorium amendment to the SALT II treaty, involved itself in tenant organizing in Washington's ghettos, and petitioned city government for laws to slow down "gentrification" in a situation where housing is already pathetically scarce for Washington's poor. But any genuine political renewal among Christians, argues Wallis, will have to be rooted in Christian worship life and in a life lived resolutely with the poor.

THERE ARE a good many sympathizers among conservative Protestants who do not go all the way with the young Turks. Reflecting on *Sojourners*'s stress on simple living, one evangelical remarked, "Those folks must be suffering from anorexia." The remark came not from a political conservative but out of a sizable evangelical drift toward the center, toward mainstream America and the good life and decidedly away from the right-wing politics of Billy James Hargis and Jerry Falwell, away even from the fundamentalism of the recent evangelical past.

There are signs, for instance, that *Christianity Today* editor Harold Lindsell is losing his "battle for the Bible." Predicated on strict "inerrancy" lines, the Lindsell position, which is that of the National Association of Evangelicals, has attempted to force itself on liberal-leaning Fuller Theological Seminary, on the Southern Baptist Convention, and on other conservative Christians at the margins of "evangelicalism." Fuller has refused to purge its questioned faculty, and the Southern Baptist Convention, despite the election of ultra-conservative Adrian Rogers to its presidency, flatly turned down inerrancy formulations—formulations which would have amounted to a creed for an essentially anti-creedal tradition. While the Assemblies of God have joined in the NAE's purges, the Christian Holiness Association, representative for the holiness tradition, has softened inerrancy language over the last several years.

Politically, the failure of an evangelical consensus contributed heavily to the defeat last fall of California's Briggs initiative (which would have banned homosexuals and open supporters from the public schools). The new social awareness among conservative Christians has called many back to their reformist origins. The holiness churches especially, with roots in the abolitionist movement and in early feminism are turning back to a concern for structural social evils. In 1972 Ron Sider, a minister in the Brethren of Christ (a holiness denomination) and professor at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, was instrumental in gathering together evangelicals and mainline church people for the "Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern." Out of that meeting grew "Evangelicals for

Social Action," which hopes to foster both local and national efforts on behalf of social issues ranging from world hunger to nuclear disarmament to community development. And Charles Colson's conversion and prison experience has grown into a vigorous prison ministry and increasingly sharp criticism of the American penal system. A new generation of evangelicals has begun to question the old alliance of conservative piety and conservative politics.

But the sociological phenomenon that made evangelical, and eventually pentecostal and holiness, Christians "respectable" is also pushing them into the cultural mainstream. Political conservatism, especially in its moralism, is no longer respectable in the American mainstream. The bourgeois virtues have faltered, 100 percent Americanism is suspect, and moralism in politics is increasingly reserved for the left. "Liberalism," as *Christian Voice* justly fears, has indeed the upper hand, whether in the muted moral reformism of the steadfast liberal and new evangelical or in the refusal of moral categories among "neo-conservatives." The failure of the Briggs initiative is one sign that evangelicals have begun to heed that message.

The rhetoric of success, the flashy style and the new media image of contemporary "born again" evangelicals, a reevaluation of sex and a quiet dropping of traditional taboos all attest a decidedly altered atmosphere among "conservative" Christians. That the churches have not rallied to the defense of Herbert Armstrong's Worldwide Church of God in its financial disclosure crisis is also indicative. Instead, George Wilson of the Billy Graham Evangelical Association and Stan Mooneyham of World Vision have created a movement for financial disclosure among evangelical churches and charitable organizations. An intrusive state now prompts the voluntary conformity of the new evangelical center.

There is no doubt that the move to the center among evangelicals is sincerely motivated and generated by serious questioning on the part of conservative Christians. When Billy Graham declares that he was wrong to give his unqualified support to U.S. weapons policy in the fifties and sixties, it is clear that something more than cultural conformism is afoot among the newly affluent conservative Protestant churches. Graham's own desire "to be close to the centers of power" was severely chastened by the Watergate revelations, and his new-won critical stance is a reflection of the position recently gained at some cost by tens of thousands of his fellow conservative Christians.

Still, the danger remains. Will the new evangelical center, including a large portion of the new evangelical social conscience, simply come to reflect the mores of a complacent America—as its taste already reflects the insipid blend of Hollywood and *House Beautiful* that afflicts our popular culture? Or will it manage to forge a distinctly evangelical counterpoint to the empty political debates of the seventies? There is no clear answer to these questions. The continued presence of the right, the vitality of the evangelical left, suggest that the world of conservative Christianity will be in ferment for some time to come.

A DEBATE ABOUT THE CIA & PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY



Who was in charge?

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

A COMMENTATOR on the looking-glass world of intelligence had better begin by confessing his own involvement. As one who served in the Office of Strategic Services during the Second World War, I am doubtless suspect from the start. I believe that this country requires an absolutely first-class intelligence service—strong in technology, strong in agent espionage, strong in counter-espionage and strong, above all, in research and assessment. I also believe that we must retain a covert action capability. And, as one who has known Richard Helms since the Second World War, I regard him as an able public official who has served his country devotedly in this most ambiguous of trades.

I therefore turned to Thomas Powers's *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (Alfred A. Knopf, \$12.95, 408 pps.) with interest and hope. The reviews suggested that here at last, in the form of a biography of a professional who rose from the ranks to become Director of Central Intelligence, was a careful and objective account of the American intelligence experience. *The Man Who Kept the Secrets* is written, moreover, in fluent and confident prose, its tone so knowing as to seduce the unwary reader. Yet, for all its verve, its air of detachment and its nuggets of information, the work has deep and disqualifying flaws.

His book, Mr. Powers observes in a footnote, was "heavily based on information provided by the CIA" (358). One wonders whether the Agency, admirable as it may be in many ways, provided this information out of disinterested passion for the historical record. The CIA institutionally, and many CIA veterans individually, have their own thesis to argue. That thesis, swallowed by Mr. Powers hook, line, and sinker, is that the CIA has always been a passive and obedient organization, acting "only at the direction of the President" (viii). This is the book's obsessive theme: "at the top of the chain of command was always the President" (28); "one could infer pretty accurately what the President wanted by paying attention to what the CIA did" (120); "... the 'excesses' of the CIA in its zeal to do the President's bidding" (206); "every major clan-

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR. is Schweitzer Professor of Humanities at City University of New York Graduate Center. He won the Pulitzer Prize for his book, *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*.

destine operation of the CIA was authorized by the President in writing" (322); etc., etc.

This thesis is in its nature implausible. Every executive agency of course is nominally accountable to the President. But government agencies develop interests, purposes, constituencies, commitments, codes of their own. When like the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Army Corps of Engineers, they are run by professionals rather than by political appointees, they hold their cards close to their chests and play their own game. From their perspective, Presidents come, and Presidents go, but they go on forever. This is an elementary rule of bureaucracy.

Why in the world does Mr. Powers suppose the CIA exempt from that elementary rule? In fact a secret intelligence agency is especially likely, because secrecy encourages self-hallucination, to feel that it knows national security better than its transient political masters do. And it is especially well equipped, by the character of its trade, to disregard, evade, and outwit those masters. "Constitutional scrutiny of Intelligence Services is largely an illusory concept," as John Le Carré noted in his introduction to *The Philby Conspiracy*. "If they're good, they fool the outsiders—and if they're bad they fool themselves." We always believed in the United States that they ordered things better in Great Britain and that British intelligence was under the secure control of the political government. But we now know that, when Anthony Blunt confessed his espionage in 1964, the prime minister of the day was neither informed nor consulted. "I was not told," Lord Home said in the *London Times*; "I did not know." Nor was the Foreign Secretary, R.A. Butler, told either.

Mr. Powers's contention that everything CIA did came from the top down and that one can therefore infer what Presidents wanted from what CIA did does wanton injustice to CIA's capacity to do things on its own. Powers himself admits on occasion that Presidents did not know everything the CIA was up to. The CIA began opening mail between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1952; "there is no evidence that Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, or Kennedy were ever informed of the mail openings" (365). Powers hardly mentions the CIA's program of testing behavior-altering drugs on unsuspecting bystanders; but there is no evidence that any President knew anything about that program either. Indeed, according to the Rockefeller Commission report of 1975, the CIA

Inspector General himself did not learn of the program until 1963—after it had been going on for eleven years.

To sustain his contention that all the Agency did was to follow orders from above Mr. Powers does not hesitate to suppress contrary evidence. Thus he describes the CIA effort to overthrow Sukarno in Indonesia in 1958 as the initiative not of the CIA, but of John Foster Dulles (89). But Joseph B. Smith, who was then a CIA man in Indonesia and whose excellent book *Portrait of a Cold Warrior* Powers praises in other contexts, explains how it was really done: “We began to feed the State and Defense departments intelligence. . . . When they read enough alarming reports, we planned to spring the suggestion that we should support the colonels.” Powers quotes Smith on other points, not on this one.

POWERS’S ACCOUNT of the clearance mechanisms for CIA covert action is highly disingenuous. “Before 1955 covert operations were approved in a haphazard way,” he writes. “. . . Afterward, the [inter-agency] 5412 Committee, or Special Group, would say yes or no,” and presumably everything received careful and formal authorization (78). Here again he suppresses contrary evidence—in this case, the testimony of President Eisenhower’s own Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities. In a 1956 report to the Board, David Bruce and Robert Lovett—no bomb-throwers they—gave a very different picture of the manner in which CIA originated covert operations and palmed them off on higher authority:

Initiative, and continuing impetus for [covert] operations, for the most part, reside in CIA. And, once having been conceived, the final approval given to any project (at informal lunch meetings of the OCB inner group) can, at best, be described as pro forma. . . . There are always, of course, on record the twin, well-born purposes of ‘frustrating the Soviets’ and keeping others ‘pro-western’ oriented. Under these almost any [covert] action can be and is being justified. . . . In most instances, approval of any new project would appear to comprise simply the endorsement of a DCI [Director of Central Intelligence] proposal, usually without demurrer, from individuals preoccupied with other important matters of their own. . . .

We are sure that the supporters of the 1948 decision to launch this government on a positive [covert] program could not possibly have foreseen the ramifications of the operations which have resulted from it. No one, other than those in the CIA immediately concerned with their day-to-day operation, has any detailed knowledge of what is going on.

In February 1957 the Board’s executive secretary reported that many clandestine projects did not have the formal approval of the inter-agency Special Group. “The DDP [covert action] side of CIA is operating for the most part on an autonomous and free-wheeling basis in highly critical areas.” The Board continued thereafter to criticize both the extent of CIA covert action and the absence of effective control. “There are no present provisions for any regular external review of

Clandestine Cold War programs,” the Board told Eisenhower at a meeting on December 16, 1958, “and no formal accounting of them. . . . The Indonesian operation was at no time considered formally by the OCB Special Group as contemplated by the provisions of NSC 5412.” Indeed, the Special Group did not even start to meet regularly until 1959. In its last written report to Eisenhower, the Board said:

We have been unable to conclude that, on balance, all of the covert action programs undertaken by CIA up to this time have been worth the risk or the great expenditure of manpower, money and other resources involved. In addition, we believe that CIA’s concentration on political, psychological and related covert action activities have tended to detract substantially from the execution of its primary intelligence-gathering mission. We suggest, accordingly, that there should be a total reassessment of our covert action policies.

But Mr. Powers does not even mention the views of this singularly authoritative group, though extensive quotations from its reports can be found in *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, a book cited by Powers in other connections.

Mr. Powers’s statement that “every major clandestine operation of the CIA was authorized by the President in writing” is nonsense—as he himself tacitly concedes when he discusses the most reckless of such operations, the attempted assassination of foreign leaders. His discussion of the assassination plots is curious indeed. The attempt to murder Castro, for example, began in the Eisenhower administration, continued through the Kennedy administration and went on into the second year of the Johnson administration. There is no evidence that any of the three Presidents knew of or authorized these or any other assassination plots. But Powers leaves the clear impression that, as the *New Yorker* reviewer put it, “our Presidents have been willing to promote assassination;” or, in the words of the *Wall Street Journal* review, “Where the CIA attempted to assassinate foreign leaders, it did so on orders from U.S. Presidents or with their knowledge.”

Eisenhower, according to Powers, wanted to murder General Kassem of Iraq and Lumumba in the Congo as well as Castro. “The Republican Eisenhower was if anything even more intimately involved in the story than the Democrat Kennedy” (291). Still Powers reserves a special animus for Kennedy. In the first chapter he imagines a CIA official telling the Church Committee:

Well, who do you think ordered Castro’s assassination, the office boy? *It was John F. Kennedy and his brother Bobby*. If Helms said that (which in my [Powers’s] opinion he could have) . . . (7)

This is a recurrent fantasy:

More than once Helms found himself with an almost irresistible urge to fire back: Senator, how can you be so god-damned dumb? You don’t put an order like that in writing. (119)

He was being as clear as he could: the Kennedys wanted Castro out of there, the CIA did not go off on its own in these matters, the Agency was only trying to do its job.

What more could he say: Senator, how can you be so goddamned dumb? *This isn't the kind of thing you put in writing.* (154)

Now the Castro assassination scheme, though Powers does not note this, originated as part of the Eisenhower covert action project that culminated at the Bay of Pigs. Powers's account emphasizes rather the alleged pressure exuding from the Kennedys and relentlessly applied to hapless CIA officials "to get rid of Castro." He enforces this version at the expense of chronology. Thus he reports that in October 1960 Richard Bissell of the CIA received a memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover saying that the CIA's chosen agent, a Chicago gangster, was telling his friends all about the anti-Castro plot; "this fact should have given Bissell pause, but he went ahead with the plan anyway, a fact which ought to be taken as tacit confirmation of the pressure Bissell felt to 'get rid of Castro.'" (342). But Kennedy was not President in October 1960. Similarly, in a paragraph narrating events of 1962, Powers describes a CIA operative, William Harvey, remembering "Bissell telling him that the Executive Action [i.e., assassination] project had been urged on him by the White House" (153). But Harvey actually testified—and Bissell agreed—that this conversation with Bissell had taken place in "early January" 1961—i.e., before Kennedy became President.

Powers goes on to say of National Security Action Memorandum 100 of October 5, 1961, that it "discussed Castro's assassination." This, if true, would be a staggering fact, a smoking pistol, the conclusive solution to the mystery. But it is not true. As the Church Committee summarized it, NSAM 100 "directed the State Department to assess the potential courses of action open to the United States should Castro be removed from the Cuban scene." The focus "was on the possible courses of action open to the United States in a post-Castro Cuba, rather than on the means that might bring about Castro's removal." In other words, contingency planning of a routine sort—and leaders may be removed from the scene by other ways than assassination, as the shah of Iran recently discovered.

POWERS'S TREATMENT of Robert Kennedy is equally disingenuous. He writes, "Kennedy was thoroughly briefed about the details of an attempt to murder Castro during his brother's presidency" (155). In fact, Kennedy was briefed in May 1962 about an attempt to murder Castro that had begun in

Eisenhower's presidency and had, the CIA told him, been terminated after the Bay of Pigs. Why the CIA in this allegedly thorough briefing "sent a deliberately inaccurate memo to the Attorney General," Powers naively comments in a footnote, "is a mystery" (346). It is hardly a mystery to those who regard the CIA, not as a passive instrument of Presidents, but as an "autonomous and free-wheeling" agency.

When two Robert Kennedy associates later objected to Powers's account in a letter to the *Atlantic Monthly*, Powers tried to justify his claim of "RFK's responsibility for CIA attempts to murder Castro" by citing Kennedy's vigorous support of Operation Mongoose. This is a cynical non-answer. Operation Mongoose was the CIA covert action program designed to overthrow the Castro regime. It did indeed receive Robert Kennedy's vigorous support—not to his credit either. But Mongoose was not the vehicle of the assassination plots. Moreover, Powers well knows this to have been the case, which is why his reply to the Kennedy associates is so inexcusable. He had written in his book that Harvey, who was in charge of the assassination plots as well as of Task Force W, the CIA's instrument for Operation Mongoose, ran the assassination operation "with extreme security; none of the men who even worked for him on Task Force W knew what he was up to" (149). (And Powers is additionally wrong when he says that Operation Mongoose "was not even known to exist for more than ten years" (133). James Reston described it in every way except by name in the *New York Times*, April 21, 1963.)

One obstacle to the idea that the Kennedys authorized the assassination plots is the universal testimony that John McCone, the head of CIA, did not know about them. Powers handled this straightforwardly: he hints, repeatedly and not too delicately, that McCone, in denying knowledge of the plots, was lying (13, 150, 296). Again, no evidence. And he goes on in the usual style about the Kennedys' "determination to get rid of Castro," neglecting the fact that, when Khrushchev supplied the perfect pretext by placing nuclear missiles in Cuba, and eminent advisers urged the Kennedys to invade Cuba and smash Castro forever, Robert Kennedy led the fight against that course and John Kennedy made the decision against it. Powers also omits the fact that the supposedly vengeful Kennedys were engaged in the last months of 1963 in secret explorations into the possibility of regularizing relations with Castro.

The Man Who Kept the Secrets is tarted up with what can only be called mock scholarship. There is a great show of footnotes and citations. But on examination many of the notes deal with entirely trivial questions, and many of the more arresting items in Powers's account are not footnoted at all. One would like to know, for example, the source of Allen Dulles's description of Helms on page 35; or of Robert Murphy's alleged demand to know why the CIA had not killed Ho Chi Minh (127); or of the account of Robert Kennedy's supposed clash with Harvey in Miami in 1962 (141; here Powers cites *Robert Kennedy and His Times* for the dates of Kennedy's trips to Florida that year, but the passage cited lists Kennedy's 1963 Florida trips, carelessness that casts further doubt on

NEXT ISSUE

Thomas Powers: a reply to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Powers's research competence); or of the assertion that the Kennedys wanted "a sharp acceleration of covert raids on Cuba" in the early stages of the missile crisis (142); or of the story of Harvey's dinner with John Rosselli of the mob in June 1963 (149); or of Desmond Fitzgerald's attempt to give the Russians a supply route to Hanoi in exchange for Soviet attempts to restrain Hanoi (182); or of the statement that Hanoi had 40,000 agents in South Vietnam (184); and so on. There are also an undue number of factual errors, many of them listed by David Wise in his *New Republic* review (November 3, 1979).

We have heard much in recent months about the need to revive the CIA. I share this feeling though the kind of CIA we need, in my view, is an agency effective in intelligence collection and analysis and in counter-espionage rather than in murder and revolution. We do *not* need the CIA of 1957 in which more than 50 percent of personnel and more than 80 percent of the budget were dedicated to covert action. How we get the

kind of CIA we need without creating another Frankenstein's monster is not an insoluble problem, but also not one to be solved in this review.

No doubt the inordinately uncritical reception accorded the Powers book reflects a widespread desire to believe that CIA's past excesses were due to the iniquity of Presidents and not to the internal dynamism of over-financed and under-supervised intelligence organizations; as the book itself seems to reflect CIA's own campaign to regain its old autonomy. *The Man Who Kept the Secrets* will be less useful to historians than the Agency-approved but intelligent books by Harry Rositzke and Ray Cline or than the more popular accounts by W.R. Corson and by David Wise and Thomas Ross. Combining as it does superficial criticism of the CIA on minor points with reverent acceptance of CIA's self-portrait as a blameless outfit doing bad things only at the order of Presidents, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets* is a triumph not of dispassionate scholarship but of CIA disinformation.



CHILE COURTS WORLD OPINION

The junta & the trade unions

WILLIAM B. GOULD

GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET, leader of Chile's military junta since the overthrow of the Allende Government six years ago, has made clear that there is to be no political process in that country in the foreseeable future. Yet, simultaneously, the government has announced new labor legislation which is designed to restore trade union freedoms which have been suspended since the Junta came to power. The legislation, contained in a series of decrees promulgated during the month of July, is a detailed and, at times, a sophisticated effort to emulate the form of modern labor law in the West. But, as Chile's 30-year-old Harvard educated Minister of Labor, José Piñera, said to me in Santiago recently: "We operate in a different environment than you Americans. You are subjected to the pressure of private groups who have interests in proposed laws. We don't have that here."

Accordingly, the new laws are not designed with a view toward obtaining internal acceptability—although the Chilean labor movement stresses that the government's door is always open to business. Yet the fact is that the Pinochet government is deeply concerned about foreign impressions regarding Chilean intentions in this field. The reason is not simply the

Geneva-based International Labor Organization's continuous concern with Chilean alleged violations of ILO Conventions protecting freedom of association for workers. (Minister Piñera told me that he "didn't care" about that because Chile had not ratified the relevant Conventions in any event.) More formidable is the on-again, off-again American support for a boycott of Chilean goods and products. This is the wolf at the door which this past summer's decrees are designed to keep away.

The problem for the Pinochet government is that the recently enacted legislation can be regarded as equitable and even-handed to labor and capital only from a vantage point which focuses exclusively on the past six years' suppression of trade unions in Chile—i.e., something is better than nothing at all. To the American observer, the legislation is a potpourri of anti-union measures which were rejected by the 80th Congress when it enacted the Taft-Hartley amendments to the National Labor Relations Act in 1947. But the overriding theme in the decrees is an attempt to rid Chile of the Junta's political opposition—much of which is to be found in the labor movement. In order to accomplish this, the Chilean government plans a new and more restrictive role for the trade unions. This is why the entire Chilean labor movement, including the moderate AFL-CIO-supported Group of Ten, has soundly condemned virtually every aspect of the new laws. This essential

(Continued on page 116)

WILLIAM B. GOULD teaches labor law at Stanford Law School in California.

Books for Brotherhood & Sisterhood For Children and Young Adults

Each year, a new generation of young people is born. The young are the future, and it is our duty to help them grow up to be good, happy, and useful citizens. This is the purpose of the books in this section. They are written by authors who are themselves young people, and they tell of their own experiences and feelings. They are books that will help you to understand the world around you and the people in it. They are books that will help you to grow up to be a better person.

The Assisi Underground: The Priests Who Rescued Jews, By Alexander Ramati, as told by Padre Rufino Niccacci. Stein and Day, 1978. \$8.95

It took all of young Padre Rufino's peasant cunning and resourcefulness to save the ever-increasing number of Italian Jewish refugees from the Gestapo. The action of this carefully prepared book is swift, often highly amusing, and yet the tragedy is never far from the surface. (14 and up)

Autumn Light: Illuminations of Age, edited by L. M. Schulman, T. Y. Crowell, 1978. \$8.95

Although old age seems only a vague possibility when one is young, it is, of course, an inevitable development for all. These stories by such well-known authors as Jean Stafford, Kurt Vonnegut, Truman Capote, and Carson McCullers, among others, point up the loneliness, the despair and the reluctance to give up the vitality of youth. (14 and up)

Breakthrough: Women in Religion, by Betsy Covington Smith. Walker & Co., 1978. \$7.95

Five lively accounts of women who have broken through sexist barriers in religion. Two are now ordained Episcopalian priests, one is a rabbi, one a political activist nun, and one a 22-year old black woman who is a minister in the A.M.E. Zion Church. (11-14)

Brothers Are All the Same, by Mary Milgram. Illustrated with photographs by Rosmarie Hausherr, E. P. Dutton, 1978. \$6.95

Know-it-all Rodney discovers that Nina's little adopted brother Joshie, is as pesty, mischievous and loved as any natural-born brother could be. (7-9)

Carnival and Kopeck and More About Hannah, by Mindy Warsaw Skolsky. Harper & Row, 1979. \$7.89

A delightful, old-fashioned story introduces sprightly Hannah and her grandmother, shy and new to the American way of life. It is set in a gentler time and place in the United States when many immigrant families came to America and kept some of their Old World customs while trying to adjust to new surroundings and neighbors. Appeal is for the middle graders who enjoy reading family stories. (8-10)

Children of the Holocaust, by Helen Epstein. G. P. Putnam's 1979. \$10.95

Part memoir, part psychological study, the author interweaves her own story as a child of concentration camp survivors with the experiences of other children of survivors. A haunting and unforgettable book. (14 and up)

A Cry from the Earth: Music of the North American Indians, edited by John Bierhorst. Four Winds Press, 1979. \$8.95

A handsome, informative book on Indian music, particularly Indian song, arranged by tribe or area. The author, an authority on Indian myth and poetry, shows clearly and simply the unique qualities of this music and how it is used in Indian life. Includes excellent photographs. (11 and up)

The Devil in Vienna, by Doris Orgel. Dial, 1978. \$7.95

The impending disaster that was to result in the Nazi holocaust is effectively understated in this touching story of friendship between two girls—one from a Jewish family and the other the daughter of a Nazi. The triumph of true friendship is believably presented and the insidious danger of Nazism well defined. (11 and up)

Edith Jackson, by Rosa Guy. Viking, 1978. \$8.95

The trials of foster children are never more vividly depicted than in this narrative of Edith, who has dedicated her life to making a home for herself and her younger sister. The choices her siblings make force Edith to seek other avenues for self-identity and love. A moving novel about the plight of foster children, and their guardians who must cope with the adjustments of living and belonging in a society which may overlook or neglect their needs. (14 and up)

Emma and I, by Sheila Hocken. Dutton, 1978. \$8.95

Not only an illuminating account of what it is like to be blind, but also a heartwarming story of the loving relationship between the author and her faithful seeing-eye dog, Emma. (14 and up)

A Festering Sweetness: Poems of American People, by Robert Coles. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978. Paperback, \$3.95

The author, a noted child psychiatrist, has put together in poetic form the words and feelings of various peoples, young and old, whom he met in his travels around the U.S. In Part I we have the words of children, sharecroppers, blacks, whites during the civil rights struggles of the 60s; in Part II the words and images of Indians, Chicanos and Eskimos. He has made moving poems of their thoughts and emotions. (11 and up)

A Fine Soft Day, by James Forman. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978. \$7.95

Events in the life of a Belfast Catholic teen-ager, Brian O'Brien, and his family give a personal yet enlightening view of the religious and economic troubles in Northern Ireland. (12 and up)

First Generation: In the Words of Twentieth-Century American Immigrants, by June Namias. Beacon Press, 1978. \$12.95 (Paperback, 1979. \$5.95)

This collection of tape-recorded first-person narratives relates how and why the individuals left—or escaped from—their native European, Asiatic, or Latin American countries, and their reactions to their new life in the United States. Necessarily uneven in style; some accounts may prove a bit disconcerting. (14 and up)



Flavio, by Gordon Parks. Norton, 1978. \$8.95

Life changed for 12-year old Flavio da Silva and his family when noted photo-journalist and writer Parks featured them in a 1961 "Life" magazine article on poverty in Brazil. This is Flavio's story . . . one of charity, hope and struggle. (14 and up)

Foreigner, by Nahid Rachlin. Norton, 1978. \$8.95

Feri, taking herself away from an unhappy marriage with an American man in the United States, returns to Iran for a visit to her father. She suffers both a cultural and an emotional shock. The former is due to her inability to accept the place of women in this Middle Eastern society; the latter because she learns that the real reason for her mother's abandoning her as a child was to run off with another man and not to follow a religious vocation. Mother and daughter meet and find common cause. (14 and up)

Free To Be . . . by Michael Ondaatje. Harper & Row, 1978. \$5.95
 A collection of poems and stories by a Canadian author, Ondaatje, who has lived in the U.S. for many years. The book is a collection of poems and stories, some of which are about the author's own life and experiences. (12 and up)

Hi, Mrs. Mallory! by Ianthe Thomas. Pictures by Ann Toulmin-Rothe. Harper & Row, 1979. \$7.95

Free To Be Muhammad Ali, by Robert Lipsyte. Harper & Row, 1978. \$5.95

The Great Gilly Hopkins, by Katherine Paterson. T. Y. Crowell, 1978. \$6.79

Growing Older, by George Ancona. E. P. Dutton, 1978. \$7.95

Hi, Mrs. Mallory! by Ianthe Thomas. Pictures by Ann Toulmin-Rothe. Harper & Row, 1979. \$7.95

Free To Be Muhammad Ali, by Robert Lipsyte. Harper & Row, 1978. \$5.95

Free To Be Muhammad Ali, by Robert Lipsyte. Harper & Row, 1978. \$5.95

An easygoing story of Ali's rise from contender to heavyweight boxing champion of the world. Along the way, the reader is given an insight into the many obstacles of racial, religious and political discrimination he also had to overcome. (12-14)

The Great Gilly Hopkins, by Katherine Paterson. T. Y. Crowell, 1978. \$6.79

A bright child who longs to be with her natural mother resists affection for or from her foster parents until she encounters one less conventional than the rest. Through this foster parent, a little boy who is also a foster child in the same home, and an old, blind, black neighbor, Gilly's story treats realistically of a child's fears and need for love. (11-13)

Growing Older, by George Ancona. E. P. Dutton, 1978. \$7.95

American Indians, native white Americans, children of slaves, Hispanics and immigrants briefly sketch their growing up experiences—many of them harsh—discuss their work in life, and view their aging with lively equanimity and often with humor. Their tape-recorded stories are matched with action photographs. (10 and up)

Hi, Mrs. Mallory! by Ianthe Thomas. Pictures by Ann Toulmin-Rothe. Harper & Row, 1979. \$7.95

A moving and touching story of a young girl as she lovingly helps an older woman who lives alone. (8-10)

For the complete Books for Brotherhood/Sisterhood list write to:

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10019



Hispanic Personalities: Celebrities of the Spanish-Speaking World, by Gary Wohl and Carmen Cadilla Ruibal. Regents Pub. Co. 1978. Paperback, \$3.95

These brief biographies are intended chiefly for students for whom English is a second language. But any reader will find the book enjoyable and inspiring. Patriots, scholars, writers, artists, military and sports heroes, and statesmen from South America, the Islands, Mexico, and even old Spain are represented. Illustrated with photographs. (12 and up)

I Should Worry, I Should Care, by Miriam Chaikin. Drawings by Richard Egielski. Harper & Row, 1979. \$7.95

Bensonhurst, Brooklyn, before World War II is the setting for this warmhearted story of a Jewish family and its young daughter, Molly. Treatment of her problems in adjusting to a new neighborhood, finding new friends and accepting change, gives the reader a strong sense of the time and place. (8-10)

If You Are Silenced, I Will Speak for You, by Othmar Franz Lang. Translated from the German by Eva Mayer. Collins, 1978. \$6.95

Amnesty International, an organization which works for the human rights of individuals, is the subject of an unusual study involving a small group of West German young people. Actual case studies are presented in fictionalized form, but the reader is absorbed in the activity of the group and its concern for victims of political injustices in Europe and even in America. (11-14)

It's Too Late for Sorry, by Emily Hanlon. Bradbury, 1978. \$7.95

Kenneth Shea helps to make life for Harold, a retarded young adult, more normal by including him in a few activities, but Kenny's purpose is really to win the approval of his girl, Rachel. Kenny, persuaded by his friend, Phil, to get high on marijuana, acts badly toward Harold, setting off a chain of events with unhappy outcomes but with the beginning of maturity for Kenneth. (12-14)

Last Moments of a World, by Margaret Gaan. Norton, 1978. \$9.95

The setting is Shanghai in the years between 1927 and 1950. The author, a member of a family that was partly European and partly Chinese, describes the harrowing events of the Chinese civil war and the difficulties of living through that strife. She also gives very human details of her family and social life. (14 and up)

Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed, by Philip Hallie. Harper & Row, 1979. \$12.95

With a title that comes from the 19th chapter of Deuteronomy, this book tells how Le Chambon, a small village in France, saved thousands of Jewish refugees during World War II. It is a story of the spiritual strength and the courage of the villagers spearheaded by the moral leadership of André Trocmé, his wife, Magda, and Edouard Theis, plus many others who chose to fight against the evil they could not allow to be visited upon any human. (14 and up)

Let the Lion Eat Straw, by Ellease Southerland. Scribner's, 1979. \$7.95

By writing in the cadence of black English speech without use of dialect, the author's stark style has produced a poignant portrait of a black family and a gifted protagonist, the victim of her ghetto existence and poverty. The story is told with compassion and insight into the circumstances that often shape individual lives. (14 and up)

Lost and Found: The Adoption Experience, by Betty Jean Lifton. Dial, 1979. \$9.95

This is essentially a plea for the right of adoptees to know who their natural parents are. The author, an adoptee, who wrote of her own life in *Twice Born*, here describes the injustices of present adoption policies and procedures and, in the second half of the book, recounts varieties of experience of adult adoptees—reactions to learning of their adoption, decisions to search for parents, etc. It is an enlightening book which will do much to increase understanding of the plight of many adoptees, adoptive parents, and some natural mothers as well who are searching for their children. (14 and up)

Next Year in Jerusalem: A Short History of Zionism, by Robert Goldston. An Atlantic Monthly Press book, Little, Brown, 1978. \$7.95

This history of the Jews from Biblical times to 1975, the story of the Diaspora in 70 A.D., and the subsequent expulsion and persecutions of the Jewish peoples is presented with compassion. Explanation of the term Zionism and the founding of the homeland in Israel form the basis of this history which is also interwoven with the horrors of anti-Semitism and the continuing dispersal of the Jewish people through the ages. Written for the serious reader, it includes a bibliography of sources, suggested readings and a complete index. (13 and up)

On the Little Hearth. *Words and Music for the Popular Yiddish Classic, Oif n Pripitchih*, by Gabriell Lisowski. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978, \$5.95.

This well-known and beloved Yiddish nursery song introduces the alphabet in order to prepare the child for the reading of the Torah. Expressive black and white drawings capture the gentle joy of the song. (3-6)

An Open Mind, by Susan Sallis. Harper & Row, 1978. \$6.95

David, who lives with his mother, is hostile to his divorced father's marrying Margaret Daly, a teacher of spastic and paraplegic children. When David begins to know Margaret better and meets her son, Bruce, who is one of those afflicted children, he grows in maturity and compassion. (11-14)

Passover, by Howard Greenfield, Illustrated by Elaine Grove. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978. \$5.95

A decorative design embellishes this chronicle of events which led to the flight of the Jews, the miracle of the angel's passing, and the parting of the waters of the Red Sea, as well as the reasons for the present day observance of the traditional holiday in the Jewish calendar of religious celebrations. An attractive picture book format adds appeal. (8-10)

Proud Shoes, by Pauli Murray, Harper & Row, 1978. \$8.95

Ms. Murray's grandparents instilled in her more than pride and distinction. Her ancestral heritage from a blend of races and cultures (black, white, Cherokee Indian) comes to life in this family saga from the South. (14 and up)

Something on My Mind, by Nikki Grimes. Pictures by Tom Feelings. Dial Press, 1978. \$7.50

Accompanied by strong and sensitive drawings, these poetic expressions of everyday happenings in any child's life are poignant and moving. (7-10)

Understanding Africa, Revised edition, by E. Jefferson Murphy. T. Y. Crowell, 1978. \$8.79

In this updated revision of the 1969 title, emphasis is placed on the political development of the new nations south of the Sahara Desert, or Black Africa, but the impact of Middle Eastern politics on the Arabic-speaking North Africans is also explored. This overview of Africa's history, the effect of European colonization and the subsequent independence of nations which spawned a new African nationalism constitutes a unique perspective of the African continent. (12 and up)

Uriah Phillips Levy, by Harold W. Felton. Illustrated with photographs and prints. Dodd, Mead, 1978. \$5.25

In spite of harassment and courts-martial initiated by anti-Semitic colleagues and subordinates, this Naval officer from an old Philadelphia family proved himself a loyal, courageous, and patriotic American who served his country well from the War of 1812 until his retirement in 1860 with the rank of commodore. (9-12)

Welcome Home, Jellybean, by Marlene F. Shyer. Scribner's, 1978. \$6.95

When Neil's mother insists upon taking 13-year-old Geraldine home from an institution for the severely retarded, the girl's uncontrollable (and well-intentioned) destructiveness tears the family apart, leaving Neil and his father to make some heartbreaking decisions. (10-13)

The Wind Is Not a River, by Arnold A. Griese. Illustrated by Glo Coalson. T. Y. Crowell, 1978, \$6.79

In 1942 Sasan and her brother, Sidak, prepare to paddle their bidarki (skin-covered boat) across open sea to warn an American Naval base that a Japanese force has invaded their Aleutian island of Attu. This courageous plan is complicated by a struggle with their conscience, trying to decide what to do with an injured enemy soldier they discover on the beach. (11-13)

Words By Heart, by Ouida Sebestyen. An Atlantic Monthly Press book, Little Brown, 1979. \$7.95

In 1910 Lena Sills' family is the only black family in Bethel Springs, a southwestern town. Her father, Ben, an uncompromisingly good human being, has moved his family from an all-black southern community to afford a more hopeful future for his children. The unreasoning bigotry they meet is shockingly new to Lena, whose nature is less forgiving than her father's, and a tragedy forces her to make a decision that is shaped by the humane precepts that were her father's credo. (10-14)

Yesterday, by Miriam S. Zunser, Harper & Row, 1978. \$11.95

From Russia in the time of Csar Nicholas I, to Poland and finally to America, we follow the joys and troubles of a remarkable Jewish family with 24 children, each asserting individuality. (14 and up)



aim is to move the nationwide federations out of collective bargaining. Although unions may invite outsiders to the negotiating table, collective bargaining at a level higher than the company is not lawful. The hardest hit by this measure is the Farm Workers Union which has depended upon industry-wide bargaining ever since that organization was promoted and encouraged by the Frei government in the sixties.

Coordinated bargaining across company lines is forbidden. So also is collective bargaining cooperation between different unions in different companies. This balkanization has been formulated so as to remove all federation influence—the federations constituting one of the main sources of opposition to the government.

On the basis of the above, one might nevertheless conclude that the government genuinely wants to engage in collective bargaining and not politics—and that a trade union movement which is depoliticized is more likely to function in a responsible manner. But the general tenor of the decrees is to weaken the ability of the unions to function on any basis. For instance, the principle of exclusive bargaining status for a union was accepted practice before 1973. The 1979 laws provide for multiple unions in one plant—and most Chileans believe that this will divide and thus undermine the union side. Collectively negotiated agreements can be superseded by an individual contract of employment negotiated between employer and employee.

The role of unions in connection with the subject matter of collective bargaining is severely circumscribed. Wages and “other monetary benefits” are the only subjects which are deemed “subject to collective bargaining.” And with regard to a number of fringe benefit items such as vacations and holidays, the statutes make it appear that unions cannot bargain above the minimum provided for by the legislation.

Nevertheless, Labor Minister Piñera proudly points to aspects of the new legislation which are similar or superior to (from a union point of view) American law. In the latter category, he points out that in the United States, workers engaged in a lawful strike may be replaced by strikebreakers, whereas this summer’s decrees contemplate replacement in Chile only sixty days after the strike has commenced. What must be added is that in Chile workers will be *automatically* terminated if they do not accept the employer’s offer as of the sixty-day period and that previously existing job security rights are abrogated. Moreover, the strike weapon is so weak in most industries that this limited protection from strikebreakers is relatively academic.

(In the copper industry where strikes have been of substantial duration, labor-management relations are to be handled by special legislation. A strike begun late in January by mine and smelter workers paralyzed the El Teniente copper mine that produces one-third of Chile’s copper, the country’s main export. The strike was the most serious since the military regime of President Pinochet seized power more than six years ago. Strikers said they were not only rejecting the copper company’s new contract but were protesting the government’s labor policies.)

Strikes which would cause “great damage” to the “economy of the country, or national security” are prohibited. And the vague, open-ended nature of this language will make it possible to prohibit a wide variety of strikes in important sections of the economy. Minister Piñera notes that in industries where a strike is not lawfully acceptable, “final offer” arbitration—a procedure which is now used in the public sector in much of the United States—is to be utilized. This provides for selection of one party’s last offer by the arbitrator. The theory is that each side will be reasonable because it wants the arbitrator to accept its position—and that therefore the bargaining process will work so well that frequently arbitration will be unnecessary. The difficulty in Chile is that the arbitrators will be named by the state—and for obvious reasons the unions are extremely suspicious of any roster which the state formulates unilaterally.

In summary, the legislation does indeed provide the opportunity for some activity by trade unions which has not been permitted since 1973. But it emasculates the Chilean labor movement. Its one-sidedness ought to make it suspect for foreign trade union movements which are attempting to assess the boycott issue and to make policy judgments generally with regard to contemporary Chile.

Dance

MINIMALISM & COLLAGE

LUCINDA CHILDS & MEREDITH MONK

IN THE SIXTIES, contemporary art started to exert a pervasive influence on modern dance which has continued to the present. The influence was not in terms of subject matter but in the process, the technique of realizing a painting.

Two of the brightest talents in the modern dance world, Lucinda Childs and Meredith Monk, presented separate concerts of their recent work and revealed how much Miss Childs has found minimalism a congenial working format and how indebted Miss Monk is to the collage construction.

Childs’s work was simply and accurately called “Dance” and included a stunning lighting design in primary hues by Beverly Emmons, film sequences by artist Sol LeWitt, and a hypnotically repetitive score by Philip Glass. Childs, with her collaborators, has found subtle complexity in this repetition.

Spare, droning, or hypnotic music has been a fact of musical life in non-Western societies for a long time, but only recently has it made a significant appearance in major concert halls as a classical form. The closest thing to it in the extant repertory was Ravel’s *Bolero*, which also attracted its share of hostile commentary in the beginning. Glass’s music is insistent, pitched at a high level of aural saturation, and devoid of rapid changes in melodic or rhythmic line. The spare modulation

and changes do, though, make a real impact once one has settled into the bath of sound.

Childs's choreography, divided into five equal parts of twenty minutes duration each, was devised as a series of variations upon the rudimentary skipping step of childhood. A step followed by a short hop gradually developed into almost balletic sequences of linked small turns and leaps—yet they all progressed out of the skip. The company of four couples danced sections one, three, and five, which were lit with one of the three primary colors, blue, yellow, and finally red. Sections two and four had stark white lighting and were solos for the choreographer. These passages had a draftsmanly sparseness compared to the richer orchestrations that characterized the ensemble sections. Childs's solos were lean and precise and slightly overlong, since they were devoid of the interest generated by the changing combinations of dancers in the group portions. These were like "paintings" compared to her "drawings" and the idea of making them both the same length was a slight miscalculation in terms of audience attention.

The film sequences were fastidiously synchronized with the movements of the dancers and were shown on a transparent scrim covering the entire front of the stage. The individual projections used a quarter, half, or all of the space to intersperse low, medium, or close-up views of the dancers. At times stop-action sequences broke down the movement into its component parts.

The work had a disarming simplicity to it so that the viewer was carried along by the seamless flow of the dance steps, the aural environment, and the filmed interludes. It dealt with an enclosed world of highly disciplined movement and presented varying aspects of intentness, fun, formal relationships, and ecstatic abandon that are the experience of dancing.

MEREDITH MONK'S concerns are less with the feelings of dance itself, though these play an important part in her work, but more with the examination of myth. For her, myth as a category of narrative did not stop in prehistory but exists in the here and now, implicit in the lives of ordinary men and women, a thread linking present lives with those of past generations. Only the heroic component is played down.

Her work "Recent Ruins" was an imaginative examination of recently lost societies of Eastern Europe whose present-day descendants painfully feel the loss of their immediate past. The form of the presentation combined song, wordless vocalization, dramatic vignettes, group passages of operatic-like movement and chanting, film sequences, and slide visuals. All of these elements were linked by references to archeological exploration and discovery. A man and a woman labored at a table at one end of the long room in which the work was presented, examining and assembling shards of pottery. Below them and at the far end of the hall a couple in hiking clothes proceeded down opposite sides of the space chalking lines and descriptive symbols on the floor. Later these were examined by two women dressed as Victorian "antiquarians" as the profession was then known.

The couple on the stage danced slowly at another point to a

nostalgic waltz, then films were shown of men and women being classified after examination. Not only did the doctors peer at them but they were measured for length by the zebra-like marking sticks of the professional archeologist.

At another point in this collage, the presentation juxtaposed images from the clearly remote past. Figures huddled beneath capes from under which shone glimmers of light; a keening wail emerged. A woman, of earth mother proportions, stalked through the space like a prehistoric huntress tossing and breaking objects, which presumably would be examined by later generations for their significance. Finally the entire space was darkened, only to be illuminated by photographer's flash guns. These bursts revealed large, white tortoises crawling painfully along after an intermittent light while a line of large insects whirled animatedly on the ends of sticks.

The search for evolutionary forms has been joined to the previous search through recent ruins. The quest for simple information about immediate forebears has been enlarged into a delving inquiry into the nature of life and man's origins that proceeded quite logically from the more easily recoverable information. It was like opening a family photo album for a casual scan of the fading snapshots and being led into speculation on the genetic code or the double helix. Monk's imagination is as fertile as ever and her collection of moving images powerfully provocative.

DON McDONAGH

Screen

GOING NOWHERE

THE SOFTWARE OF EMOTIONAL LIFE

STARTING OVER, *Breaking Away*, *Going in Style*, *Being There*. Have you noticed the vogue for gerund phrases used as movie titles? I wonder why that is. A gerund phrase isn't a complete thought, of course, and it suggests a movie that isn't either. It seems to admit right up front that the movie it names gives us only a partial and incomplete view of life, a fragment. It has an appealing modesty about it. The movie is going to be about what goes on in just one small corner of the world among people who know they aren't all there is to life. We can tell just from the title that the movie must deal with some divorced schlemiel in suburban Connecticut or a kid from an Indiana college town who has delusions of grandeur—with old codgers trying to get by on Social Security, or a halfwit whose world is circumscribed by his TV and his garden. We know we're definitely not going to be seeing *Star Wars*. How would it have sounded if *Star Wars* had been called *Launching Out*?

We can be sure that a film with a gerund phrase for a title won't try to overpower us. It won't be terribly moving—just touching. There is an uncertainty to a gerund phrase, a kind of tentativeness. On the one hand it's a verb, but on the other

hand, a noun. We can't tell whether it's supposed to be a subject or an object or what. What does a verbal like this do, anyway? It just dangles. It takes an action and reduces it to a state of being.

Actually, the titles make these movies sound more interesting than most of them are. (That's what a title is supposed to do. It's advertising, not information.) The only one that lives up to its title is *Being There*, Hal Ashby's new film based on a novel by Jerzy Kosinski. Ashby has been something of a pioneer in the development of the verbal-fragment-title concept. *Coming Home* was directed by him way back in 1978. Until now, however, Ashby's films have been weighed down by their social gravity. A protégé of Norman Jewison, under whom he was assistant director on such films as *Heat of the Night*, Ashby picked up Jewison's weakness for stories with too much potential message. Ashby's *The Landlord*, *The Last Detail*, *Coming Home* and *Shampoo* all suffered from this. *Being There* could have as well. After spending his life watching television and tending the garden of a house he never leaves, the movie's feeble-minded hero is suddenly adopted by a wealthy industrialist. Through his association with this powerful man, he gets on television himself, a celebrity whose literal statements about gardens are taken for a kind of figurative wisdom. The story is rife with opportunities for black comedy, social satire, etc. The amazing thing about the movie is that it avoids almost all these temptations.

I suspect that what restrained Ashby this time was Kosinski, who not only wrote the novel but collaborated on the screenplay. The two men are a happy combination, like Jack Sprat and his wife. Where Ashby gives us the impression that he lacks in himself the substance he wants his satires to have, Kosinski always seems to exceed as a person anything he writes. No matter how strange Kosinski's fiction gets, his life always strikes us as stranger. We cannot help our misgivings that in reading mere novels, we never really get the full story. Like all Kosinski's characters, Mr. Chance in *Being There* draws on Kosinski's own life. Where Chance is a simpleton thought brilliant, Kosinski was as a boy a genius thought simple. On his own trying to elude capture by the Nazis at age nine, Kosinski lost his powers of speech, and after the war was put in a school for mental defectives. Kosinski's marriage to the young widow of an American tycoon also parallels a romance in the novel between Chance and the wife of the dying industrialist.

It seems almost a swindle that experience as rare and wild as Kosinski's should produce a novel so slight, so easily enjoyed. We are aware that this is only a little ventilation from the volcano, a thin, popularized whiff of what this man has really been through. Kosinski's novel is too spare. It's as if he would compensate for the baroque quality of his experiences by making his narrative excessively streamlined. The way the book reads, he has not only given away parts of his life to Chance, but turned over his typewriter as well. The book talks about Chance the way Chance himself talks about his garden—as if speaking a parable that has no exegesis.

Yet maybe this reticence in Kosinski was just the thing

needed to offset the self-inflation in Ashby. Because Kosinski is reluctant to expatiate or supply detail, that Ashby is usually eager to do so didn't hurt for once. A movie, just by its nature as a movie, has to have more detail than Kosinski's novel provides. At a skimpy 118 pages, *Being There* would barely have made a feature movie if it had been filmed word by word. So Ashby was able to perform a real service. The need for details was so great, in fact, that helping to supply them may have worn Ashby out. He didn't have the energy left to make them *significant* details. The result was details which are just right, not too pregnant, but not merely decorative either. A perfect stand-off.

In the novel Kosinski never bothers to tell us what program Chance is watching on television, but in the film when Chance switches on a set, something has to appear on the screen. *Coming Home* has a moment when Jane Fonda turns on a set late on the night that her husband has shipped out for Vietnam. On comes a picture of the American flag and the sound of the Star-Spangled Banner, then the screen goes blank because it's sign-off time. With details as arch and meaningful as that, we hardly need to watch the rest of the movie (as a matter of fact, why did we?). In *Being There* the opportunities are greater to use television sets as if they were telegraph keys, as a way to flash urgent signals to the audience. Nonetheless, the comments that the television insertions make on the movie are more oblique and imaginative. At most they're a wistful mirror of Chance's own personality, as when he flicks the dial one morning and comes up with *Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood*. "Oh," Mr. Rogers says on hearing a knock at his door, "That's Mr. McFeely." A glum man next to me who had not laughed at the movie once so far perked up at this. "I love Mr. McFeely," he said to his wife.

"McFeely" sounds like a cutesy way to say feeling, as if emotions were, like excrement, something you have to make up euphemisms for. "Mcfeelies" are what Chance has instead of feelings. He has about him that same inane sweetness that Mr. Rogers has. He offers to the world the sort of instant-on affection that Mr. Rogers offers to children. At the death of the Old Man whose garden he has tended all his life, Chance shows no grief. But when the industrialist (Melvyn Douglas) who has taken him in for a few days dies, Chance's eyes are moist. Only the "chance" relationship, the brief acquaintance such as one might have with a character on a soap opera, can move him. The software of the emotional life is all that's available to him. His feelings are so mild, they're almost non-existent. Whenever anything disagreeable happens, he reaches for the only other button he has, instant-off. Menaced on the street by some black teenagers, Chance pulls his remote-control tuner from his pocket and clicks it at them.

Chance is a hard role to play because even when he is "being there," right there where the action is among the rich and famous, he's still not there in a sense—"not all there," as people say. Like Chance's suits, Peter Sellers's performance as Chance is impeccable. The suits are beautifully tailored, but neither their fit nor their style is quite right because they were originally made for the Old Man. Likewise, all of Sellers's

mannerisms are just slightly off. In the film, though not in the book, there is an irony in the fact that the acceptance of Chance among all his fabulous new friends results from their having gotten his name wrong. "Chance the gardener," he mumbles when the industrialist's wife (Shirley MacLaine) first asks who he is. "Chauncey Gardiner," she repeats thoughtfully, "You must be related to the Gardiners we know. We often visit their island." The film explores an irony missed by the book when Sellers endows Chance with the social grace of never making a mistake like this. Chance gets everyone's name right the first time and remembers it from then on.

The way Sellers emphasizes this knack Chance has, it might be the only talent possessed by an *idiot savant*, a single way he has discovered that he can get approval from the world. Chance repeats everybody's name a bit too insistently, just as he thanks people for small amenities a bit too effusively. Sellers's adroitness with these traits he invents for Chance is that we, who know Chance to be a complete imbecile, recognize him as such; yet we can also accept that the other characters in the story, who don't know the truth, would utterly misconstrue him. I hear that Kosinski is very pleased with the

film. He ought to be, since it's better than his novel. In the discrepancy between him and Ashby, there has been room for Chance to grow, and for Sellers to cultivate him.

In the closing scene of *Being There*, we can see Hal Ashby's worst instincts finally beginning to get the better of him. The crypt in which the industrialist is being buried, for instance, is a pyramid with a human eye gazing from its peak. The whole mood is getting ominously allegorical. We can tell that Ashby has become impatient with merely being there. He wants his movie to go somewhere before it's too late. Fortunately, Sellers saves the day. Sellers wanders off from the funeral by himself and comes to a pond in which he notices a fallen tree. He walks on the water to get to it. Sellers so underacts this miracle that the annoying allusion to Christ scarcely occurs to us. Chance is a bit startled by what he has done, though only a bit. He sounds the pond with his umbrella; but once he's ascertained that he really is standing on top of several feet of water, he loses interest and goes back to examining the tree. We're a little startled ourselves. But we decide that it's all right, his being there, because we've noticed that he has on his rubbers.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

Religious Book Week: **CRITICS' CHOICES**

Arthur J. Moore

IT WOULD BE difficult to compile almost any kind of list of favorite books for the last year that did not begin with *The Habit of Being, Letters of Flannery O'Connor* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, \$15, 617 pp.). Quite naturally, most of the attention paid to this marvel of a book has stressed its literary and biographical elements but its stature as a record of religious faith surely is one of its great strengths. As always with these letters, it is a temptation to quote (but where would you stop?), but the tone in discussing these matters is both so personal and so right as to be a wonder. In her own phrase, "the truth does not change according to our ability to stomach it emotionally," but Flannery O'Connor's letters show how she stomachached it emotionally and beautifully.

Another work where the tone is right is a reprint of Karl Barth's *Evangelical Theology* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, \$5.95, 206 pp.).

Based on a series of lectures that Barth gave in the U.S. in 1962 and later expanded, this is a short compendium of Barthian themes and emphases in theology. It is worth noting that the word evangelical here is not used in any "confessional, that is, in a denominational and exclusive, sense." What Barth is talking about, as always, is "the God of the Gospel" and how He approaches man and woman. There is a grandeur and yet directness of tone here appropriate to the subject.

Still, what counts these days is no longer these confident affirmations of personal belief. Nowadays, the emphasis is on Biblical study and the early Christian communities. One of the best of these studies is *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*, by Raymond E. Brown (Paulist Press, \$3.95, 204 pp.). A small book on Johannine ecclesiology may sound forbidding and, at the beginning, one does have the feeling that Father Brown is going to footnote the reader to death. But the writing is clear, the content is fascinating, and the author both knows and loves his subject.

Another book which explores early writings and communities—in this case, not nearly so well known, is *The Gnostic Gospels*, by Elaine Pagels (Random House, \$10, 203 pp.). Scholars, among them Father Brown, have tended to look down their noses at Pagels's book as being entirely too popular and insuffi-

MAIMONIDES AND AQUINAS

by JACOB HABERMAN

"I am most favorably impressed both with the author's learning and the book's general tone. He argues his case with great acumen and supports it from recognized authorities. The work is a notable achievement; the author has made a valuable contribution which should arrest the attention of Jewish and Christian scholars alike. . . . The Thomist reasoning about Transubstantiation is well understood and the author's tone is attractively modest and moderate." \$17.50

—Dom Aelred Graham, O.S.B.,
Author of *Zen Catholicism* and seven other books

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ciently nuanced but it seems to me a book that deserves its popularity with the general reader. It takes a fascinating subject, deals with it in a way that makes it interesting, and shows both the social context of the times and the persistence of many of the same questions today.

As a reminder of how persistent these controversies are, the cases of Fathers Küng and Schillebeeckx are close at hand. Which should remind us that *On Being a Christian*, by Hans Küng (Pocket Books, \$7.95, 720 pp.), is still around in paperback, and still remains the most ambitious, most appealing book of Christian

apologetics for the general reader attempted in quite some time. Just the sort of thing that you would think any hierarchy in their right mind would lay awake nights praying for.

Arlene Swidler

SOMETIMES I wonder how anyone manages to stay on top of the annual flow of religious books. I certainly don't. But 1979 produced a number of books I found helpful in keep-

ing me reasonably up-to-date in areas not my specialty, and as this is presumably the purpose of this essay, perhaps my list can be useful to the general reader.

Elaine Pagels's highly controversial *The Gnostic Gospels* (Random House, \$10, 217 pp.) is certainly the most obvious example. The book provides a useful overview on two levels. First, it gives an interesting and succinct account of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts discovered in Upper Egypt in 1945, and, secondly, by analyzing some of these materials from Gnostic tradition it shows us the great diversity in early Christianity. The book develops the thesis that what the church labeled orthodox was what bolstered the institutional church. Insisting on a literal interpretation of the resurrection, for example, though the New Testament also supports other interpretations, meant that the Apostles could claim authority as official witnesses.

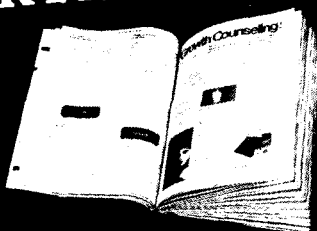
The work on Christian-Jewish dialogue continues. Two books this year go to the central crux of the conversation, Jesus. *Anti-Semitism and the Foundations of Christianity*, edited by Alan T. Davies (Paulist, \$7.95, 275 pp.), is a scholarly response to Rosemary Ruether's *Faith and Fratricide* of a few years back. Ruether's contention was that anti-Judaism is the "left-hand" of christology. Now a dozen more Catholic and Protestant scholars examine the New Testament and Christian history, questioning whether anti-Semitism is eradicable without a change in the essential christological dogma.

From the Jewish side we now have Pinchas Lapide's *Israelis, Jews and Jesus* (Doubleday, \$7.95, 166 pp.). Lapide, an Israeli living in Germany, is known in this country for his sympathetic *Three Popes and the Jews*; although I find some of his other recent work, yet untranslated, more exciting than this present work, it is a good survey of Jewish thinking on Jesus in Hebrew literature, Israeli schoolbooks, and the rabbinical writings.

Peter Berger is back, with *The Heretical Imperative* (Anchor, \$9.95, 235 pp.), again considering contemporary religion with a social scientist's eye. In our secularized and pluralistic world he sees

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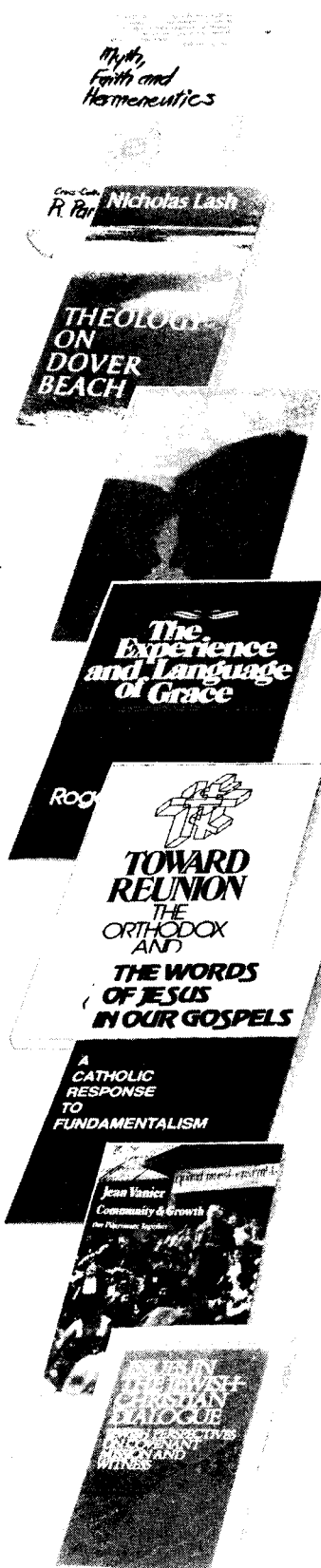
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three possibilities for religious thought: the deductive, asserting tradition; the reductive, translating the tradition into the categories of modern consciousness; and the inductive, using experience as the basis for religious thought. In the development of this outline the reader will get some insight into the thought of Barth, Bultmann, and Schleiermacher.

As usual, there are a number of good

books on women. For a comprehensive view, Denise Carmody's *Women and World Religions* (Abingdon, \$5.95, 172 pp.) is an excellent choice. Carmody presents both the positive and negative in the major religious traditions in a very readable fashion, though I think she is a bit romantic about the indigenous African religions and a trifle hard on Islam—but then who isn't these days?

the Gospel. Books leap into existence telling us the good news and we are faced with so many we hardly know where to begin. The most amazing thing about these books is the revelation they make that action for justice has been in the doing for some time despite our lack of consciousness. They encourage us to get on with the struggle for the realization of social justice because we have partners all over the world and we are not alone.

In *Beyond Our Tribal Gods*, Ronald Marstin pursues a theme dear to me, that "for the poor growing in faith is a political act." It challenges the faith of the non-poor to meditate on and reform their ideas about God and God's action in society. Cussianovich in *Religious Life and the Poor* pursues the fact that "a ceaseless quest for justice and peace lies at the heart of the aspirations and struggles of the oppressed," and links the dedication of religious life in its profound commitment through the vows to this action. Because he is writing out of a Latin American experience with a European background, his theological reflections, which are richly documented, help the reader to grasp the solidarity of the religious commitment across national lines in a beautifully reflective book.

Pursuing that cross-cultural perspective further, Kofi Appian-Kubi with Sergio Torres provides a collection of papers by mostly African theologians and church people who in a broad ecumenical perspective, introduce us to an African range of theological reflection revealing the new life of the spirit in the African struggle for freedom. The sobering reality of a church caught into the struggle of the poor in the structure of the state in Latin America, and the power of the Gospel reflection emerging from that struggle is expressed by José Comblin in *The Church and the National Security State*, theological reflections he prepared particularly for North American readers.

Why all this concern for the peoples of the world at this time in history and why we let this concern intrude into our deepest spiritual encounters is soberingly and finely presented in Stephen Chorover's *From Genesis to Genocide*, a book MIT was moved to publish in its own scientifically-oriented press.

Marie Augusta Neal

BEYOND OUR TRIBAL GODS: The maturing of faith. Ronald Marstin. Orbis, \$5.95, 160 pp.
Religious Life and the Poor: liberation theology perspectives. Alejandro Cussianovich S.D.B. Orbis, \$6.95, 175 pp.
African Theology en Route: Papers from the Pan-African Conference of Third World Theologians, Accra Ghana, 1977. Kofi Appian-Kubi and Sergio Torres. Orbis, \$7.95, 184 pp.
The Church and the National Security State. José Comblin. Orbis, \$8.95, 256 pp.
From Genesis to Genocide: the meaning of human nature and the power of behavior control. Stephan L. Chorover. MIT Press, \$15, 256 pp.
Renewing the Earth: Catholic documents on peace, justice and liberation, edited by David J. O'Brien and Thomas A. Shannon. Image books, Doubleday, 1977, \$3.95, 598 pp.
Puebla and Beyond. edited by John

Eagleson and Philip Scharper. Orbis, \$7.95, 370 pp.

Basic Christian Communities. (Ladoc Keyhole Series) Latin American Documentation. USCC, Washington D.C. 1976, \$1.00, 62 pp.

One of the refreshing things about Christianity is its renewability. We go along for years complacently being the church in a style to which we have become accustomed, responding slightly or even ignoring the gentle insistent call of the Gospel to work more directly in conditions of incredible suffering. Then suddenly the new life of the church in its periphery bursts in upon us with an insistence that cannot be ignored and the language of social justice and peace appear in the very heart of the worship service disturbing our prayers and invading our contemplation, insisting that we leave our gifts at the altar and go out to right the wrongs our sisters and brothers are communicating to us before we formalize again a liturgy that excludes the doing of

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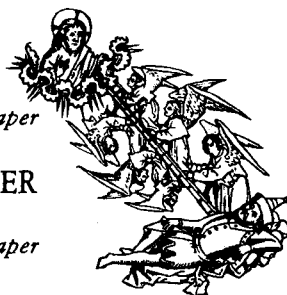
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Chorover was one of the speakers at last summer's World Council of Churches conference on Faith, Science and the Future held at MIT. This book is particularly helpful for those who do their religious reflection predominantly in a psychological frame of reference as is also Ronald Marstin's *Beyond our Tribal Gods*.

Finally we who are always asking what the Church has to say formally on the question of justice will find David O'Brien and Thomas Shannon's book on church documents, *Renewing the Earth*, helpful and informative. Beginning with "Rerum Novarum" down through "Justice in the World," the papal statements on social justice are all here as well as those of the North and Latin American bishops. John Eagleson and Philip Scharper bring these up to date with *Puebla and Beyond* a collection which not only provides the documents from last year's tenth year update of the famous Medillin conference of 1968 but also provides commentaries by Robert McAfee Brown, Jon Sobrino, Joseph Gremillion and Penny Lernoux, giving it an ecumenical, international and women's perspective.

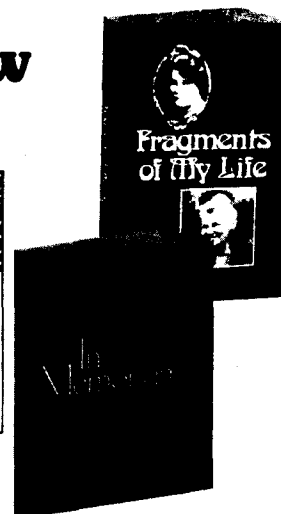
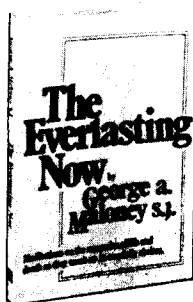
As a last point, ordinary people like you and me need some direction in the face of this enormous mandate as to how to initiate the action and reflection needed at the local level. Here LADOC's "Basic Christian Communities," a Keyhole pamphlet in the Latin American documentation series of the USCC, is not only useful but inspiring.

George G. Higgins

The Evolution of Dutch Catholicism, 1958-1974. John A. Coleman. University of California, Berkeley. \$20.00, 328 pp.

A masterful historical-sociological study of post-Vatican II changes in the Roman Catholic church in the Netherlands. Fr. Coleman, who teaches social ethics and the sociology of religion at the Jesuit School of Theology and the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, argues convincingly that there is no turn-

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—Youth In Groups: Developing Leadership, William Forbes
—Effective Use of Weekend Formats In Youth Ministry, Martin Moran
—Social Justice Orientation For Youth Ministry, Jim & Kathy McGinnis
—The Ministry Of The Regional Or Diocesan Coordinator Of Youth Ministries, Michael Warren

Place: —Youth And Social Justice, Rev. Paul Surlis
Cost: —Cathedral College of the Immaculate Conception, Douglaston, N.Y.
—\$100 per person non-credit

CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND LOVE—July 7-11, 1980

Topics & Lecturers: —Love In The Ethics of Karl Rahner, Rev. James F. Bresnahan, S.J.
—Love & Rules In Protestant Ethics, Dr. Frederick Carney
—Have The Rules For Making Rules Changed In Catholic Ethics? Rev. John R. Connery, S.J.

Place: —Love, Sin And Compromise In Christian Ethics, Rev. Charles E. Curran
Cost: —Existentialism And Christian Ethics, Rev. Thomas Fay, O.S.B.
—Christian Ethics In Church Context, Rev. Richard A. McCormick, S.J.
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ing back, that "the structural shifts of the 1960s within Dutch Catholicism have been consolidated, both in changes in Dutch Catholic attitudes and in structures." By the time this mini-review appears in print, the extraordinary Dutch Synod, held recently in Rome under the presidency of Pope John Paul II, will have put this optimistic conclusion to the acid test. Keep your fingers crossed. It is safe to assume, incidentally, that the delegates to the Synod and the pope himself as its presiding officer had before them copies of Coleman's exhaustive study and, it is to be hoped, made good use of it during their deliberations.

Ignatius of Loyola. Karl Rahner, S.J., with an Historical Introduction by Paul Imhof, S.J. Color photographs by Hel-muth Nils Loose, Collins. London/New York. \$14.95, 63 pp.

Rahner's 27-page Introduction to this elegantly illustrated volume about Ignatius of Loyola is worth the price of the entire book, but it could have been (and should now be) published as a separate booklet so as to make it available, at a reasonable price, to a wider audience. His breathtakingly honest essay is entitled "Ignatius of Loyola Speaks to a Modern Jesuit." Only a man of Rahner's formidable stature in the Society of Jesus would have dared to set himself up in this way as a surrogate for Ignatius and to speak to his fellow-Jesuits in the first personal singular ("I, Ignatius of Loyola . . .") about the task which faces them today. And only a man of his preeminence in the theological fraternity would have dared to speak so frankly about the temptations currently besetting the institutional church and about the price that contemporary Jesuits as "men of the church" must expect to pay as they strive continuously to strike a healthy balance between the requirements of ecclesiastical loyalty on the one hand and the compelling demands of conscience on the other.

The Utopia of Pope John XXIII. Giancarlo Zizola. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y. \$9.95, 379 pp.

This is not a biography of John XXIII in the usual sense of the word, but rather a provocative in-depth study of "the political, cultural, and theological

background through which Roncalli prepared himself for the major decisions of his pontificate." Originally published in Italian in 1974, it comes through rather awkwardly at times in translation. Nevertheless *Orbis* is to be commended for making it available in English. We are also indebted to *Orbis* for several other volumes published during the past year, notably, *Mission to Latin America* (\$9.95, 306 pp.) by Gerald M. Costello, a fascinating account of the ambiguous but very important cooperative missionary experiment in the sixties between the church in North America and Latin America, and *Puebla and Beyond* (edited by John Eagleson and Philip Scharper, \$7.95, 370 pp.), which includes the major addresses of John Paul II in Mexico, the official translation of the final Puebla document, and commentaries by several acknowledged experts on the church in Latin America. I will never understand why some of our friends in the neoconservative camp are currently sniping at *Orbis*. If you ask me, they ought to be extremely grateful that Philip Scharper, John Eagleson and their Maryknoll sponsors are providing us on a regular basis with readable and inexpensive translations of the best available books from and/or about Latin America.

Billy Graham: A Parable of American Righteousness. Marshall Frady. Little Brown, and Co. Boston/Toronto. \$12.95, 546 pp.

Mr. Frady reports that columnist Murray Kempton, beguiled by one of Billy Graham's mammoth crusades in New York City, said that he would "make no sport of any honest prophet of Christ." Neither will Mr. Frady, nor will I. On the other hand, while Frady is delicately respectful of Graham's personal sincerity, he is piercingly critical of "the dominant American ethic, which Graham both reflects and has helped to create." Though Frady's undisciplined rhetoric frequently gets completely out of control, his exhaustive study is by far the best of all the Graham biographies and will, I suspect, successfully stand the test of time.

Thomas Merton: Monk and Poet. George Woodcock. Farrar, Straus, Giroux, New York. Paperback \$3.95, 200 pp.

Woodcock, one of Canada's most distinguished men of letters, is a biographer, poet, editor, and critic. It would be difficult to think of anyone better qualified to do a critical study of Merton. The fact that Woodcock's "personal deism," as he himself puts it, "might come near to what Merton thought of as atheism," turns out to be more of an asset than a

handicap, for it adds a note of objectivity to what is, on balance, a thoroughly positive and sympathetic study of a great man—a man "of apparently contradictory impulses . . . , a man of many facets and yet, essentially, not a divided man, for he had learned how to bring his two vocations of poet and monk into a fruitful symbiosis."

Robert McAfee Brown

IF THERE is a unifying principle discernible in the mix of diverse books below, it would go: there is no aspect of life that faith does not seek to explore, both to learn (always) and to contribute (sometimes).

For the sheer impact of faith in areas we do not normally expect, it would be hard to beat John Shea's poems, *The God Who Fell From Heaven* (Argus Communications, \$4.95, 125 pp.). While he writes in ways that often make us squirm, compassion broods over every line and finally invades each one. Whether it is

"A Theologian at Prayer" (my favorite) or "A Prayer for Queen Theology" at one end of the spectrum, or prayers for grandmothers, fruit-eaters, job-hunters, paranoids or bishops at the other, the line between "sacred" and "secular" is unfailingly erased, and we are left with a razzle-dazzle world that has the divine stamp upon it, the stamp of "the God who fell from heaven," and therefore also rates a prayer.

Very different (and therefore important to read in conjunction with Shea's celebrative verse) is Elie Wiesel's de-

"A first-rate literary introduction to the *Chronicles of Narnia*."
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"Leads us through the extremely tricky critical terrain... straight toward the stories themselves. I think Lewis would applaud what Schakel has done."
—Thomas Howard, Gordon College

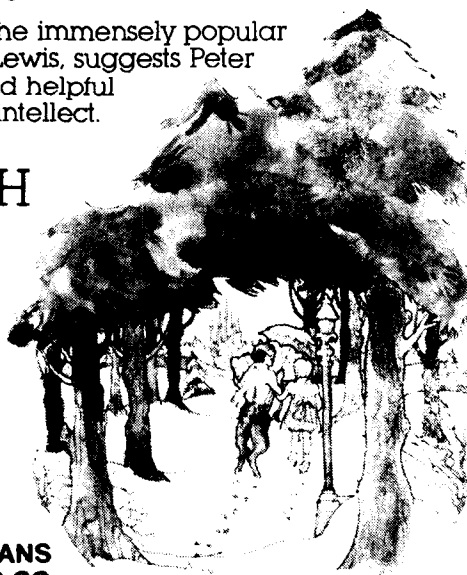
The key to understanding the immensely popular *Narnia Chronicles* of C. S. Lewis, suggests Peter Schakel in this informed and helpful guide, is imagination — not intellect.

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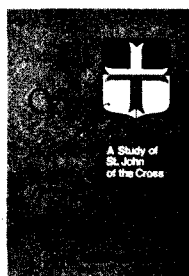
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spairing yet strangely hopeful play, *The Trial of God* (Random House, \$8.95, 161 pp.). Anybody who even dabbles at theology, let alone those for whom it is a central concern, had better tangle with *The Trial of God*. God is put on trial by a Jew whose life has been shattered in a pogrom, and the *dénouement* (which I will not reveal) is devastating, just as the spirited challenge to God by Berish is powerfully authentic in its attempt to do justice to questions that will not go away, on the lips of questioners who persist in asking them, no matter what.

Jack Nelson's *Hunger for Justice: The Politics of Food and Faith* (Orbis Books, \$4.95, 230 pp., a splendid price these days) combines moral passion and data. Since we need both if we are to deal with world hunger, and usually are given only one or the other but not both, this book is useful on many fronts. Nelson gives us both rationale and practical suggestions for moving beyond impotent concern, and every page demonstrates that faith and politics cannot be separated.

That faith and politics cannot be separated is likewise a concern of Johann Baptist Metz, in *Faith in History and*

Society: Toward a Practical Fundamental Theology (Seabury Press, \$12.95, 240 pp.). Metz is one of the most creative Catholic theologians on the scene today (a judgment recently vindicated by the unwillingness of Cardinal Ratzinger to certify him for a new university position). Metz has been willing to listen to third world theologians and look for

CRITICS

ARTHUR J. MOORE is the editor of *New World Outlook*, a United Methodist magazine.

ARLENE SWIDLER is a Lecturer in Religious Studies at Villanova University.

SISTER MARIE AUGUSTA NEAL, SND DE NAMUR, is a professor of sociology at Emmanuel College in Boston.

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ways to articulate liberation concerns within a European ambiance. He does it so well that we also will be indebted to him for springing theology loose from the lethal embrace of capitalist-dominated worldviews. The recognition that theology deals with the "dangerous memory" of Jesus is alone worth the purchase price; wherever an appeal to the past means danger rather than complacency, we have struck pay dirt.

Colman McCarthy

SOME OF MY most enjoyable reading has come from authors who draw conclusions I find absurd or irrelevant but who are artful, hardworking, and aggressive in the drawing. The first lines of Monsignor George A. Kelly's *The Battle for the American Church* (Doubleday, \$14.95, 512 pp.) were enough to persuade me that I was about to have another happy meeting with absurdity: "A guerrilla-type warfare is going on inside the church and its outcome is clearly doubtful."

I have no sense that a war is going on within the church, although maybe that's just my pacifism. If anything, the war is over, the one in which a few church leaders took Catholicism into the bunkers and began imagining that the enemies of God, i.e., the enemies of the Vatican, were everywhere.

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But let's allow the monsignor to have his war, if he insists. He talks about "religious crimes" being tolerated in hierarchical places. The toleration itself is a "real evil." He believes that at some point "the bishops and the pope will have to lay out the rules for the new church once and for all and make them distinguishing marks of a bona fide Catholicism."

It hurts to admit it, but I enjoyed nearly every page of Msgr. Kelly's book. He is strong in his vocation, he loves the church, and he argues his position with tough prose. After Msgr. Kelly, I owed myself a bit of agreeableness. I turned to *God Wrestling*, (Schocken Books, \$4.95, 208 pp.) by Arthur Waskow. He is the editor of *Menorah: Sparks of Jewish Renewal*, a publication of the Project on Jewish Institutions, 1747 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. In his wrestling match with God—a friendly engagement with more clinches than hammerlocks—Arthur Waskow is a vibrant and poetic chronicler of both his feelings about Judaism and Judaism's feelings toward modern man. He understands the Torah in the full beauty of its meaning.

Mr. Waskow was generous in a recent letter to me on a column I had written about sexism in religion and how Jews and Catholics were leading the way in backwardness. He doesn't think it's as bad as it's made out to be, at least not in the Torah. I will still need to be convinced, especially after reading *Called To Break Bread*. Sister Fran Ferder, a member of the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration, offers a valuable psychological investigation of one hundred women who feel called to ordination. (\$3.95. Quixote Center, 3311 Chauncy Pl., #301, Mt. Rainier, Md. 20822.)

The research is excellent. Several popular theories are debunked: "The majority of the women interviewed are not irrational feminists who are motivated to seek ordination in order to score another point for women's liberation." Neither are the women faddists "seeking ordination because it is the 'in' thing to do."

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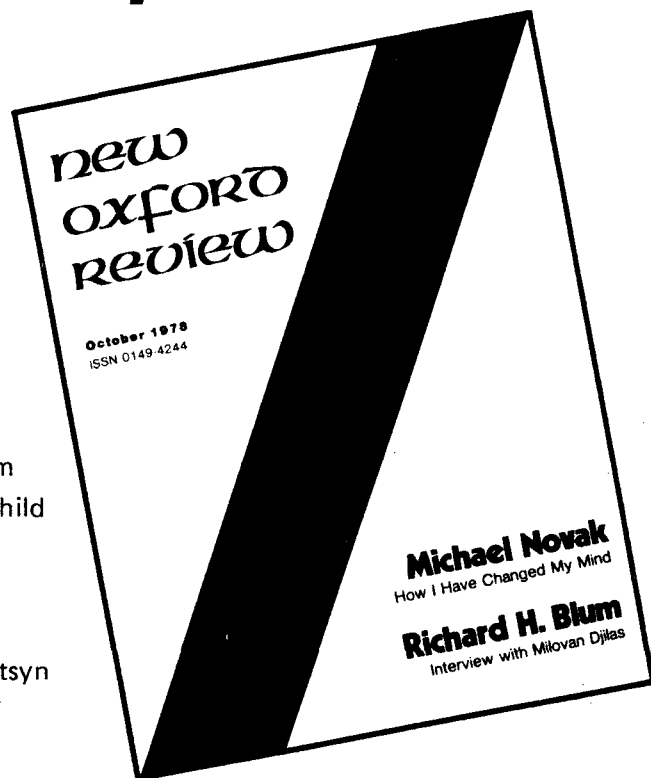
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